

The Nation

VOL. XLII.—NO. 1058.

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The Nation.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1885.

The Week.

THE President's decision that the positions of weighers and gaugers in the customs service can be filled only by applicants who have passed a competitive examination under the Civil Service Rules, probably disposes of the Sterling case. Nobody who has had the pleasure of contemplating Sterling's portrait in *Harpers Weekly* will have any doubts about his fate before an examining board, if he should venture to appear there. He can devote himself henceforth to a contemplation of the "rubbidge" which he says the newspapers have been printing about him. The President's decision settles a point about which no question ought ever to have been raised. The claim was that a weigher was not within the rules because he was a chief of division, and chiefs of division are exempted from the rules; but a chief of division has a force of trained clerks under him, while a weigher has only ordinary laborers.

This notification from the President to the Collector that he will be required to obey the law is not a sufficient punishment for the latter's disgraceful conduct. He not only removed Bacon, which might have been a justifiable step; but that he did not remove him for the good of the service, and did not care what effect the removal would have on the service, was shown by his appointment of Sterling. A man at all fit to be Collector of the Port of New York would not have been capable of an act like this, and it is useless to hope that Hedden can ever become fit. He has shown himself to be very weak, without the ability to comprehend the responsibilities of his position or to understand its duties. It is not sufficient for the President to tell him that the Civil-Service Law is a statute law and must be enforced without dodge or quibble; he ought to be removed as incompetent.

The Republican platform of Massachusetts differs from that of New York upon an important matter. It favors "any reforms, revisions, or reductions in the customs duties which will benefit our labor or our industries." This is a safe position, and the only safe one for the party to take. It leaves everybody to judge and decide for himself what reforms, revisions, and reductions will be beneficial. In other words, it opens the door to revenue reformers of all grades for the free expression of their opinions, and for the exercise of such influence as they may have in the party councils. It commits nobody to the dull and deadening belief that the present tariff is wise and useful in all its parts. Nobody really holds such a belief. The statement of it in the New York platform is a false pretence, at variance with the facts known to every manufacturer in the United States, the producers of wood-pulp not excepted. The tone of the Massachusetts platform is encouraging, and is sufficient warrant to the friends of revenue reform, whether

Republicans or Democrats, to bestir themselves when Congress reassembles, to move for the repeal of the more heathenish duties on raw materials, which now stifle the industries and oppress the labor of the country.

It is an amusing coincidence that on the very day when Senator Hear was haranguing the Massachusetts Republicans upon the terrible condition of the Southern negroes under Democratic rule, a State Convention of colored men assembled at Lynchburg, Va., which congratulated their race upon the prospects for the future, and formally declared that "we have cause to be thankful for the liberality of the present National Administration to our people in the South." This Lynchburg gathering is a most hopeful sign of the spread of intelligence among the blacks. The Chairman, in his opening address, said that they had not assembled as Republicans or Democrats, but as citizens of Virginia, claiming the right of freemen; and the address, which was adopted, embodied this spirit in a declaration of political independence, and a recommendation that the colored people in future "make such political alliances as will most advance our interests, educationally, financially, and politically." The address expresses entire confidence that there is a general disposition on the part of the white people in Virginia to accord the blacks all their rights before the law, and to assist them in the uplifting of their race, and the convention is the most effective answer to the bloody-shirt agitators which could possibly be framed.

The real "Southern question" of to-day has nothing to do with the claptrap of sectional issues in party platforms. The matter which at present arouses the liveliest popular interest throughout that part of the country is the regulation of the liquor traffic and the suppression of intemperance. This has been the chief topic before the Georgia Legislature during its summer session, and, since the passage by that body of a General Local Option Law, the controversy has been transferred to the chief cities of the State. The canvass which has opened in Atlanta for an election upon the question of allowing the selling of liquor, promises to end in the most hotly contested battle at the polls which the city has ever seen, and an equally vigorous agitation is threatened in Savannah and Augusta, the other chief cities of the State. Race and party lines are disregarded in every such contest, and thus the way is paved for a rational division of voters on political issues in the future.

The result of the Ohio election, which takes place on Tuesday next, is involved in much doubt, the size of the Prohibition vote being the unknown quantity. In so far as national issues have been drawn into the campaign the advantage has been with the Democrats. The attempts of Senator Sherman and Judge Foraker to "hitch up" the wrongs of the colored voters at the South for use in Ohio, have failed to make an effective team. On the other hand, the prudent and conservative

policy of President Cleveland has deadened to some extent the animosity of Republicans against their old-time antagonists. The apprehensions of blue ruin have been allayed, and the accents of despair so loudly proclaimed when Mr. Blaine was defeated are no longer heard. The prophets of evil are a little ashamed of themselves. Governor Hoadly has made an energetic campaign, and will gain some advantage in the two joint debates that are to be held to-day and on Saturday next with his antagonist, being on the whole the better debater of the two, although Judge Foraker is an effective speaker. Making proper allowance for varying estimates of the Prohibition vote, the chances seem to favor the reelection of Governor Hoadly. After the present election, Ohio will cease to be an "October State."

In obedience to an official request that specific charges should be filed in the Interior Department against the appointment of Morris J. Thomas, as Indian Agent, against whom oral charges had been made some weeks ago, Mr. J. Holt Pleasants, Hon. J. V. L. Findlay, M. C., Wm. Keyser, Richard M. Venable, and Wm. Winchester, of Maryland, have prepared and forwarded to Secretary Lamar a statement of facts accompanied by proofs. It should be observed at the outset that civil-service reform is not concerned with Mr. Thomas's case except as it is concerned in the general interests of good government. There is no reason why the Democratic party should not have its due proportion of Indian agencies, as well as of postmasters and collectors. The objection to Mr. Morris A. Thomas is that he is a swindler, and that, having cheated his customers and business friends by fraudulent bankruptcy, he is not fit to hold a position of trust under the Government, least of all the position of Indian agent. Charges of ballot-box stuffing are also preferred against Mr. Thomas, for which an indictment was drawn up by Mr. A. Leo Knott, then State's Attorney for Baltimore, now Second Assistant Postmaster-General. The indictment was ignored by the Grand Jury, "but," say the Committee, "this miscarriage of justice was one among many cases of the kind that led to a radical change in the mode of selecting grand juries in this city." The evidence is of such a character that it will be impossible for Secretary Lamar to ignore it, for if he should so far yield to the "pressure" of Senator Gorman, whose henchmen both Thomas and Higgins are, the Senate of the United States, soon to be in session, will undoubtedly call for the evidence and take such action as the case requires. The leader in the movement against Thomas is Mr. Findlay, the Democratic Congressman from the Fourth Maryland District. The Mugwumps of Baltimore, of whom there is a Spartan band, undaunted by the success that has hitherto attended Senator Gorman's efforts to crowd his disreputable tools upon the Administration, of course sustain Mr. Findlay and his friends; but in the main this is a controversy between the decent Democrats of Maryland and the blacklegs.

The Bell Telephone Company is a corporation of Massachusetts. A private litigant has the right to bring suit against a defendant in any place where he gets service, and will naturally choose the place and the court where he thinks he has the best chance to win. The same right belongs to the sovereign authority, but when this right is exercised to the prejudice of the defendant, the action loses the appearance of impartiality and takes on the character of an interested prosecution. We think that fair-minded lawyers will agree that the only fitting place for the United States to appear as a plaintiff against the Bell Company is in the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Massachusetts, because that State is its legal residence. It may be said that the courts of Massachusetts have already determined the main questions involved in the Bell patent, and that it is desired to have the case tried *de novo* in an unprejudiced tribunal. Such an argument for going to Memphis in order to overthrow a Massachusetts corporation is opposed to the reason of things, because it looks to the multiplication of suits and of costs on the same subject-matter. If the courts of Massachusetts have already spent much time in investigating this patent, they are by so much the better qualified to dispose of the present case promptly and get it before the Supreme Court, where it must eventually come for final determination.

Another fact of no little importance is that the plaintiffs may, under the present suit, avoid a temporary injunction against themselves in Tennessee while the suit is pending, and until it is finally determined in the Supreme Court. Ordinarily, the decision on an action for infringement of patent, in New York for instance, is accepted in the United States courts everywhere as conclusive upon all the points raised in the case. If John Doe gets a decision against Richard Roe for infringement in Maryland, the Judge of the Circuit Court in Wisconsin will grant a temporary injunction against all infringers within his jurisdiction, and will make the injunction permanent unless new matter not introduced on the Maryland trial is brought forward. It would be impossible to do business at all if the rule were otherwise. But if the United States sets up, in a court where the case comes up for the first time, that the patent was obtained by fraud, no injunction for infringement will probably be granted until the question of fraud has been determined. It may be years before the case is decided in the court of last resort. Meanwhile the infringers will be at liberty to make all the money they can, subject to the chance that they may be called upon to refund at some future time, and the further chance that they may be able to do so when called upon.

A somewhat significant editorial article upon President Cleveland's course appears in a recent number of the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, being noticeable chiefly as the first effort by a Republican party journal to give the President credit for his reform work. It opens with the amusing assertion that the "time has come when Republican journals should estimate President Cleveland candidly and fairly, giving him credit for what he has done well,

and censure, if need be, for that which he has done ill. He is no longer the candidate of a political party, seeking the suffrages of the people. He is the President of the nation, the President of all the people, of Republicans as well as Democrats. As such he is entitled to and should receive the considerate judgment of his countrymen." That would have been a very timely observation for the editor to make on the 4th of March last. Although he is seven months late, he atones somewhat for his delay by admitting a good deal which few of his Republican associates will have the courage to approve. He admits that the President "was warranted in recognizing Democrats South as well as North in the distribution of Federal offices"; that in his civil-service reform course "he is to be credited with good intentions and with certain good works as well; so far as the mere letter of the Pendleton act is concerned, it is to be admitted that he has fairly enforced it. Some excellent appointments have also been made in accordance with the spirit of the reform."

Northern people are fast coming to have a clearer comprehension of the situation regarding suffrage in the South, and Senator Hoar's neighbors no longer accept his one-sided and prejudiced views. A Republican newspaper published in his own county, the *Gardner News*, makes this just comment upon the Senator's diatribe in the Republican Convention last week:

"Massachusetts places upon her statutes a law, as an embodiment of her sentiment, that, before the privilege of franchise is conferred, certain prerequisites of knowledge shall be required. She does not want a ballot-box founded upon ignorance. There is due to this same sentiment in the South to-day, not embodied in a law, but only reflected in public opinion, what of suppression for the most part exists in that section. It is a natural sequence of adverse conditions and circumstances, to be remedied by an increase of intelligence, and a reaping of the benefits of better facilities for education."

Massachusetts would never permit a mass of illiterate people sufficient to outvote the minority who represent the intelligence and property of the State, to rule the common earth, and South Carolina cannot be expected to permit it. Massachusetts, fortunately, has a law requiring every voter to be able to read, which would protect her if enough negroes to outnumber the whites should suddenly be deposited in that State. South Carolina has no such beneficial law, and she protects herself by other means, as Massachusetts would do if she were in the same box. Statute or no statute, ignorance cannot rule intelligence; if it were allowed to do so, both would be landed in the ditch, as South Carolina had come near being before the political revolution of 1876.

The renomination of two Justices of the Supreme Court of this State by the Conventions of both parties, and with scarcely a word of opposition, is creditable to our judicial system in two ways—first, in making prominent the fact that two of the justices whose terms expire this year have so faithfully administered their offices that they disarm opposition on party grounds, and, secondly, that in two judicial districts, which are widely separated, partisan feeling has yielded to the fitness of the candidates. As Justice Barnard was first elected as

a Democrat and Justice Hardin as a Republican, the merit of their unanimous renomination must be shared with both parties. The fact should not escape attention that this manner of selecting candidates is the real Mugwumpian method. The Mugwump, whenever he finds that the candidate of the party with which he has been voting is less deserving of support than his opponent, gives that opponent his vote. For this he is roundly abused by the party managers, who set to work despising him just as hard as they can, and urging their fellow-partisans to help them do so. But the individual Mugwump, in transferring his own vote from one party to another in order to support the best of the candidates offered, only does what the two judicial conventions have just done as bodies, in acknowledging that the present judges are better fitted for the offices than any new men they could name. If it is a great piece of treachery not to vote for your party's candidate every time, according to the Blaineites' doctrine, how much more heinous a political crime must it be not to give a body a candidate of his own party to vote for!

The evidence which appears in the *Times* and *Tribune* that Governor Hill was at one time a partner with Tweed in the ownership of a newspaper seems to be conclusive. Documents are given which show that in 1870, while Mr. Hill was a large shareholder in and the President of the *Elmira Gazette* Company, Tweed was induced by a common friend of himself and Hill to buy 200 shares of the paper's stock for \$10,000; that he paid in the money and held the stock for about a year, selling it back at the end of that time, at a greatly reduced price, to Hill; that the friend, Colonel Patrick, who arranged the sale to Tweed, was a thoroughly disreputable politician, who was in the Assembly from Elmira in 1869 and 1870, where he was a complete tool of Tweed; that when Tweed had become a partner with Hill, the latter appeared in Albany as the successor of Patrick in the Assembly, and that throughout the memorable session of 1871, when some of the most infamous of Tweed's jobs were put through the Legislature, Hill was the willing servant of his partner.

The Independent Republicans of Brooklyn, who supported Cleveland last fall, were organized during the Presidential campaign under a Committee of One Hundred, which was continued in existence after the election. As soon as the two parties had made their nominations for the coming State election, this committee was convened to consider the situation, and last Friday it adopted a series of resolutions which admirably summarize the present attitude of Independent voters. These resolutions declare that the real issue in this election is the maintenance of the highest standard of administrative reform and executive responsibility; that the very element in the Democratic party which sought Cleveland's defeat at the Chicago Convention has procured the nomination for Governor of a man who opposes the principles which Cleveland represents, while the Republican Convention has nominated a man whose public record and private character give promise that he will administer the office as a public trust; and that,

in view of all this, the friends of those principles which triumphed in the election of Cleveland as Governor and as President should refuse to vote for Hill and should support Davenport, "so that the overwhelming defeat of the spoils candidate for Governor shall declare unmistakably the loyalty of the voters of New York to the cause of administrative reform." The Committee further demonstrates its clearness of vision by condemning the Republican platform for its confusion of dead with live questions and of State with national and sectional issues, for its exaggeration of the mistakes of the National Administration, and for its silence as to its great triumphs for good government; while it condemns the Democratic platform for its ignorant and wilful misstatement of the operations of the Civil-Service Law. The deliverance concludes with a hearty endorsement of the President.

The people of Southern Dakota, a few months ago, elected delegates to a convention for the framing of a constitution for the new State which it is proposed to make out of that part of the present Territory. The body recently completed its work, and there seems to be no doubt that it will be endorsed at the polls. A determined effort will be made to secure from the new Congress favorable action upon the appeal for a division of the Territory and the admission of the lower half as a State. Little hope, however, appears to be entertained that the Democratic House will give its consent to the immediate creation of another strongly Republican State. It will be no occasion for regret if partisan differences between the two branches defeat the movement. There is no excuse for haste in so important and practically irreversible an act as the creation of a new State. The question is usually treated as though it concerned only the people of the Territory interested, and as though some terrible injustice would be done them if there were any delay about acceding to their demands. But all of the thirty-eight States are vitally interested for all future time in the question of an addition to their number, and it is of the utmost possible importance that any new commonwealth shall be so constituted that the wisdom of its creation may stand the test of time. One such experience as the country has had with Nevada, a once promising Territory, which has degenerated into a travesty upon a State, is enough. Dakota may justly claim that her future rests upon a more enduring foundation, but even in her case no satisfactory basis for a final judgment has yet been afforded. The will of the people on the initial question of division has never been so clearly expressed as is desirable, nor can any assurance yet be given that the scheme of division along the forty-sixth parallel would be endorsed by the sober second thought of the people a few years hence.

The agreement of the trunk-line railroads to restore the 20-cent rate on grain from Chicago to New York absolutely on the 15th of October seems likely to be effectual this time, notwithstanding a proviso is inserted in the resolution allowing any road to withdraw on ten days' notice. So much

money has been lost by the war of rates, and so thoroughly are the combatants exhausted, that they must needs get their second wind before they can renew the fight. It does not follow that rates oppressive or unreasonable are to be established, merely because a truce has been declared and railway shareholders are to have some return on their investments. The *Railroad Gazette* observes that although rates may be made more remunerative, "they cannot be made higher, and trunk-line profits on through traffic will certainly be much less for a year to come than they were in 1880, 1882, or 1883, though they may easily be and probably will be very much more than during the year past."

The presumption that Ferdinand Ward had a concealed list of names of "Wall Street magnates" who had shared, with himself and Fish and Warner, in the Grant & Ward plunder, is fading away. No names of importance have been mentioned in connection with the liquidation of the failed firm except that of Mr. W. R. Grace, whose transactions with Grant & Ward appear to have been those of a buyer of commercial paper. Whether Mr. Grace was a gainer or a loser by such purchases remains to be seen. It is certain, however, that he was a private citizen at the time, and that the finances of the city are in no way mixed up with his business relations with Grant & Ward. It is well known that the paper of Grant & Ward was selling plentifully in 1882 and 1883 at a rate of discount extremely tempting to capitalists who were willing to take some risk in consideration of unusual profits, and that most of the persons who invested in those securities were left with an unpaid balance on hand, and were largely out of pocket when the crash came. Such a dénouement is not consistent with the theory of a conspiracy with Ward on the part of these investors to swindle the public, since they were the main part of the swindled public. That Ward has no list of "magnates" in reserve behind whom he may hope to screen himself, and that he relies upon a different line of defence, is indicated by a curious statement published in the *Philadelphia Press*, purporting to be an extract from a letter of Ward's brother. "What," says Mr. W. S. Ward, "if it should be proved that the Grant family drew out more money than they put in?" This and a half dozen other "what ifs," insinuating that "the Grants" lost money by outside speculations, and that their apparent losses by the failure of Grant & Ward consisted largely of exorbitant gains credited to them on the so-called contracts, make up the bulk of Mr. W. S. Ward's solution of the enigma. The relations of General Grant to the firm are as well known now as they can ever be. He was cheated out of all the money he had and his sons likewise, and his name was used to cheat other people. What is wanted to be known chiefly is the disposition made by Warner of the \$1,300,000 that went into his pocket, plus the property that he and Ward got from Ward at the midnight meeting in Brooklyn.

A late number of the London *Spectator* affords a curious example of reasoning back-

ward, and a fresh instance of that aptness for missing the point in discussion of American affairs which is inevitable even in the best informed English newspapers. In support of the proposition that "in countries where capital punishment still prevails, both in fact and theory, the horror of murder, the habit of regarding it as the greatest of crimes, are beyond question greatly intensified, if not actually created, by the awfulness of the penalty which it entails," the *Spectator* remarks: "In Texas, horse-stealing is regarded as a more heinous offence than assassination, the reason being that convicted horse-dealers [stealers?] are invariably hanged, while convicted murderers almost as invariably get off either scot-free or with a short term of imprisonment." Now in fact we doubt whether by any law, excepting that of Judge Lynch, hanging is made the punishment for horse-stealing. That the latter is in frontier countries regarded as a "heinous offence" is perfectly true, but this is not the reflex effect of any penalty imposed either by law or custom. Under the conditions of life in such countries, where horses are a necessity in a manner quite unknown in more civilized places, and where, at the same time, they are not kept locked in stables, but are turned out on the range under no protection but that of law and public opinion, the offence of horse-stealing is in fact "heinous," and the people doubtless "make the punishment fit the crime," not the crime fit the punishment—a thing which even the pleasant ingenuity of the "Mikado" does not suggest.

The full text of the message of the President to the Mexican Congress, read at the opening of the third session of that body, September 16, has just come to hand, having been delayed with all the Mexican mails by the extensive washouts on the Mexican Central. General Diaz congratulates the country that the threatened difficulties with Guatemala have been so happily evaded, and that Mexico now enjoys relations of cordial amity with all the world. He informs Congress that a treaty of friendship and commerce has just been negotiated with Sweden and Norway, which is to be sent to the Senate for ratification. He alludes to the continued good feeling between Mexico and the United States, apparently only for the purpose of saying that it has not been disturbed by the recent accession to power of the Democratic party. The reforms and improvements in the postal service promised last spring have been undertaken successfully. The measures of rigid economy in the conduct of the Federal Administration which were declared to be necessary at the last session of Congress, have been thoroughly carried out, and the President rejoices that the employees of the Government have so cheerfully acquiesced in the considerable reductions of salary which all have suffered. The principal thing in the message is the elaborate defence of the financial measures of June 22. These were heroic remedies, the President admits, but the desperate situation of the Treasury demanded them. He does not assert that the crisis is yet safely passed, but thinks there is good reason to hope that, with the strictest economy and greatest prudence, Mexico will be able to meet her obligations.

SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

[WEDNESDAY, September 30, to TUESDAY, October 5, 1885, inclusive.]

DOMESTIC.

THE President has decided that customs weighers must be appointed after a competitive examination. This applies to the Sterling-Bacon position in this city.

The President has issued the following special rule for the regulation and improvement of the civil service: "Special Rule No. 2, approved July 18, 1884, is hereby revoked. All applicants on any registers for the postal or customs service, who, on the 1st day of November next, shall have been thereon one year or more, shall, in conformity with Rule 16, be no longer eligible for appointment from such register." The object of the change is to prevent the eligible lists from becoming too cumbersome. It has been found by experience that the service is not benefited by working from eligible lists which are more than one year old.

President Cleveland has refused to accept the resignation of Dr. J. B. Hamilton, Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service.

Postmaster-General Vilas has issued orders looking to an improvement of the postal service between this city and Brooklyn. The orders follow a report on the post-offices in the two cities, which reflects very severely on the management of the Brooklyn office.

Secretary Manning on Wednesday dismissed seven employees in the Register's office, including five clerks and two chiefs of division, named Charles Neal and N. B. Walker. It is said that the vacancies will not be filled. The reduction of force was made on the recommendation of Register Rosecrans.

Appointment Clerk Higgins has been again overruled. Secretary Manning decides that the female clerks shall not be transferred from his bureau as he requested. The ladies themselves protested against the change.

Civil-Service Commissioner Eaton is prepared to defend the administration of the Civil-Service Law from all attacks. He will prepare a comprehensive reply to the criticism upon its methods made in the Democratic State platform adopted at Saratoga. He says that there is no important amendment of the civil-service rules which he desires to see made before his retirement, and that there has not been any change of principle in the rules since their original adoption. He considers them as near perfection as is possible for a system still in its infancy.

A new complication has arisen in connection with the Chinese question. It appears that the British Government refuses to permit its possessions to be made a dumping-ground for the rejected Chinese of the United States, except upon payment of a fee which it is quite impossible for the United States to pay. One of the customs officers on the Northwestern boundary reports to the Department that while strenuously endeavoring to carry out the instructions of the famous Chinese circular, and to put back upon British soil Chinese who had come into the United States in violation of the provisions of the Restriction Act, he was met with a Canadian statute—whether new or old does not appear—which required the payment to the Treasury of the Canadian Government of \$50 for each Chinaman as the condition precedent of readmission to British soil. The officer informs the Treasury Department that he has no money at his disposal to pay for such readmissions.

At the White House on Tuesday it was declared that the letter printed by a number of papers on the New York State election, purporting to have been written by the President to a friend in Buffalo, was a forgery. The only utterance the President has made on the subject was an answer which he dictated to Colonel Lamont, to be made to an inquiry sent him by a correspondent, and which was as follows: "The President is a Democrat, and it is strange

that any person should question his position. He earnestly desires the success of his party in the pending elections in New York as well as elsewhere, and any assertion to the contrary is utterly and maliciously false."

The Committee of One Hundred of Brooklyn on Friday evening adopted resolutions in which they said: "We believe that the friends of those principles which triumphed in the election of Grover Cleveland as Governor and as President should refuse to vote for David B. Hill, and we invite all citizens, of whatever party name, to join us in voting for Ira Davenport, so that the overwhelming defeat of the spoils candidate for Governor shall declare unmistakably the loyalty of the voters of New York to the cause of administrative reform. We condemn in the Republican platform its confusion of dead with live issues, and of State with national and sectional questions, and for its exaggeration of the mistakes of the national Administration, while it is silent as to its great triumphs for good government; and we condemn especially in the Democratic platform its ignorance and wilful misstatement of the operations of the Civil-Service Law."

The Democratic Judicial Convention of the Fifth District of this State on Thursday endorsed the nomination of Judge Hardin, the Republican candidate. Judge Joseph F. Barnard, of the Second Judicial District, has received a practically unanimous nomination from both parties.

The Massachusetts Republican State Convention met in Springfield on Wednesday. Senator G. F. Hoar was chosen permanent President, and made a long address, charging that a large part of the negro vote in the South is suppressed. He also said: "I would speak with all personal kindness of the President. I like some things his Administration has done, especially its firmness and courage in protecting the rights of the Indians. I think the remainder of the Poncas will dwell in their homes in safety during his Administration." But he added: "I cannot see how the principle of action on which this Administration has thus far proceeded in the matter of appointments and removals can be satisfactory to any honest civil-service reformer."

The Colorado Democratic State Judicial Convention on Saturday nominated Wilbur F. Stone for Supreme Judge. Resolutions were adopted ratifying the platform adopted by the National Convention in 1884, endorsing President Cleveland's Administration, favoring the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and the strict enforcement of the Preemption and Homestead Laws, declaring that a policy for the removal of the Ute Indians from Colorado is the only measure which can be adopted for the relief of the people of the southern section of the State, denouncing foreign contract labor in every form, and lamenting the death of General Grant.

The Colored Men's Convention of Virginia on Wednesday adopted an address, which declares: "We appeal to the colored people of our native State to look well to the altered condition of affairs, and in the future to make such political alliances as will most advance our interests, educationally, financially, and politically. We feel sure that there is, throughout the broad limits of the commonwealth, a general disposition on the part of the white people to accord us all our rights before the law, and to meet us heartily in every advance we make for the upholding of our people. It behooves us then to so use our ballots that we may drive out all discordant elements in Virginia, whether they be headed by natives or aliens to the State. We also condemn the raising of the race issue by any class of men who essay to lead the masses, because it can do nothing but prove detrimental to our cause and our interests."

At Salt Lake City, on Monday, Isaac Groo, Alfred Best, David E. Davis, Charles Seal, and Andrew W. Coley, convicted of unlawful cohabitation, all refused to pledge themselves

to obey the law in the future, and were sentenced to the full extent of the law, namely, six months' imprisonment and \$300 fine.

H. N. Smith and William Heath & Co., two bear firms in Wall Street, suspended on Friday. Their liabilities were estimated at from \$1,000,000 to \$4,000,000. The failure of Souther & Co. on September 29 was intimately connected with these events.

Miss Mary Anderson arrived in this city from England on Tuesday with her dramatic company. She will play here for six weeks.

Cardinal McCloskey is critically ill at his home in this city.

William Page, the well-known painter, and formerly President of the Academy of Design in this city, died on Thursday at his home near Tottenville, S. I., at the age of seventy-four. Among his important works are "Ruth and Naomi" (owned by the New York Historical Society), "Moses," "Ruth," "Venus," and portraits of Farragut, Robert Browning, and Charlotte Cushman.

John Light Atlee, M. D., the oldest physician in Pennsylvania, died at his home in Lancaster on Thursday afternoon in the eighty-sixth year of his age. He was a contributor to many medical periodicals.

Brevet Brigadier-General Charles F. Ruff died on Friday in Philadelphia in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He was graduated from the West Point Military Academy in July, 1838, and served with distinction in the Mexican and civil wars.

Frederick Hassaurek, for many years owner and editor of the Cincinnati *Volkblatt*, and one of the most influential Germans in this country, died in Paris on Saturday at the age of 53. He was as a boy engaged in the revolution of 1848 in Austria.

Dr. Thomas C. Durant, President of the Adirondack Railway Company, died at North Creek on Monday. He was prominently connected with the Union Pacific Railroad Company while that road was building.

Judge T. R. Westbrook, of the Supreme Court of this State, Third District, was found dead in bed at Troy on Tuesday morning. His term would have expired in 1887. In the spring of 1882 charges were made that Judge Westbrook had been guilty of improper and corrupt conduct in his judicial actions respecting the Manhattan Railway litigation, and also in relation to the appointment and remuneration of receivers of insurance companies. The charges were investigated by the Judiciary Committee of the Assembly, which presented diverse reports on May 31, 1882. The majority report, signed by six members, concluded with a resolution that Judge Westbrook had not, upon the evidence, been guilty of any impeachable offence.

Ex-Governor Talbot, of Massachusetts, died on Tuesday at the age of sixty-seven. In his youth he worked in a woollen factory, and by and by became the owner of mills. In 1873 and 1874 he was Lieutenant-Governor. In 1875 he was defeated for Governor by Mr. Gaston. In 1878 he was elected Governor by a vote of 134,725 against 109,435 votes for General Butler and 12,141 for all others.

FOREIGN.

The French elections for members of the Chamber of Deputies were held on Sunday. The result created great surprise among the members of the Cabinet and their colleagues. The Conservatives, on the other hand, are wild with enthusiasm over the fact that they succeeded in polling a much larger vote than the most sanguine anticipated, and making changes in the Cabinet requisite. The returns show that the Conservatives have beaten two Cabinet Ministers—M. Hervé Mangon, Minister of Commerce, and M. Goblet, Minister of Public Instruction—and made a second ballot necessary to decide the fate of two others. In Paris the following was the result: M. Brisson, the Premier, and M. Allain-Targé, Minister of the Interior, head the list with 10,000 votes each.

MM. Floquet, Lockroy, Barodet, Delafosse, Clémenceau, and Paul Bert received from 7,000 to 9,000 votes each, and MM. de Cassagnac, and Hervé, editor of the *Soleil*, 6,000. The Opportunists have lost many seats, which have been gained by either the Radicals or Conservatives. In eighty-one departments, 165 Conservatives and 141 Republicans have been elected. The Conservatives have gained 93 seats and lost 5. It will be necessary to have 202 second ballots. The Radicals, under Clémenceau, hold the balance of power.

Commenting on the French elections, the Paris correspondent of the London *Times* says: "Owing to the number of Cabinet Ministers defeated at the elections, it will be necessary for the Cabinet to be remodelled or resign from office before the Chambers meet. If the Radicals ally themselves with the members of the Right, they can overthrow Ministry after Ministry, leaving France in a permanent crisis which will seriously jeopardize the existence of the republic."

Disorders were excited in Paris on Tuesday evening. Fully 4,000 persons assembled in front of the *Gauleis* office shouting, "Vive la République! À bas le Gauleis!" Bands of youths paraded the streets singing the "Marseillaise" and waving tricolors. The police finally succeeded in dispersing the mob, being aided by a heavy rain. It is believed that a provisional ministry will be formed containing MM. Clémenceau and Floquet.

Considerable consternation prevails in Turkish official circles over an important discovery made by Alib Salih Pasha, the new Minister of War. He ordered all the various department commanders to report the strength of their respective commands and their present condition, and detailed several officers to inspect the various posts. Their reports have been received, and show that under Ghazi Osman Pasha, the late Minister of War, who was dismissed on September 25, the army was almost entirely neglected, and the large sums of money voted for military purposes were used in other ways than those for which they were designated. The Adrianople army, which was supposed to be 15,000 strong, contains not half that number of men. The soldiers have no uniforms and are shoeless. The cavalry is unable to march, owing to a lack of horses and the necessary accoutrements.

An *irade* has been issued by the Porte ordering the Turkish troops to mass at Adrianople. Large numbers of Russians are crossing the frontier to join the Bulgarians. It is understood in Berlin diplomatic circles that Austria is secretly supporting Serbia. Vienna despatches assert that everything is ready for the entry of the King of Serbia into old Serbia on October 8. The Serbian Government has 80,000 men under arms. It is feared that the King must attempt a *coup de main* before the Conference is concluded, because the finances of the country are unable to stand the present heavy drain. The Servian Skupstina met on Thursday, and made a demand for an extension of territory.

Advices received in Vienna on Saturday reported fighting on the western frontier of Bulgaria, between Servian and Bulgarian troops, and that seven men were killed and nineteen wounded. The report has not been confirmed.

Turkish troops fired on the Rumelian outposts at Mustapha Pasha, a town in Rumelia, twenty miles northwest of Adrianople, on September 29. The outposts were immediately reinforced and a skirmish ensued, in which the Turks were defeated and forced to retreat, carrying with them a number of wounded.

Six thousand Russians have crossed into Bulgaria. This represents the number of isolated volunteers, and not a compact body of troops.

Bulgaria is described as a great military camp, all the male population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five being under arms.

Anarchy is spreading in Rumelia. The belief is increasing at Vienna that the conference

will prove a failure. The Austrian War Office is making preparations for a partial mobilization of the army.

The Ambassadors of the Powers met on Thursday to consider the Rumelian question at the residence of Count Corti, the Italian Ambassador, but adjourned without transacting any business of an important nature, several of the Ambassadors having not yet received formal instructions from their respective Governments. The Powers have resolved to compensate Serbia if the Porte accepts the union between Bulgaria and Rumelia. The opinion at Vienna on Thursday was that war was inevitable.

The conference of the Ambassadors on the Rumelian question resulted on Monday in a memorandum being formulated which will be submitted to the Powers for approval before being referred to the Porte, although a disagreement has for a time postponed the presentation.

The report of the Ambassadors to the Powers on the Rumelian difficulty indicates that the tenor of the communication to be addressed to Turkey and Bulgaria will prevent a conflict, leaving to the Powers the duty of solving the question.

Veissel Pasha telegraphed to Constantinople on Sunday that he had completely defeated the Albanians, and captured and promptly hanged the most notable of their leaders.

The British Cabinet met on Tuesday, and discussed the Bulgarian question and affairs in Ireland. The Marquis of Salisbury indicated to the other Cabinet officials the line of argument he would take in the address which he is to deliver at the National Conservative Conference to be held at Newport.

The British Parliament will be dissolved on November 17. The Government will present to the new Parliament a bill to cheapen and simplify the transfer of land. The Cabinet is carefully studying the subject of local government, and intends to submit a bill for the establishment of county boards.

In the course of a recent speech at a Liberal meeting, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain said that further resistance on the part of the Peers to the will of the people as expressed by the House of Commons could not be tolerated. Such a course, Mr. Chamberlain believed, would result in the Speaker of the House of Commons being made a virtual dictator, clothed with powers ample enough to enable him to deal effectively with all cases of obstruction.

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the Conservative leader, speaking at Salisbury, England, on Wednesday, said that the Government was preparing to deal with boycotting in Ireland with a strong hand. He believed the Irish people would applaud the action of the Government.

Lord Randolph Churchill, Secretary of State for India, arrived in Dublin on Thursday to consult with Irish officials as to what means can be employed under the common law for the suppression of boycotting.

The first Irish Nationalist County Convention for nominating candidates for seats in Parliament was held at Wicklow on Monday. Mr. Parnell, on the opening of the Convention, delivered an address, in which he urged unity of action and self-sacrifice of political ambitions in selecting the candidates. He also advocated protection for Irish industries and legislative independence.

The London *Times*, commenting on Mr. Parnell's Wicklow speech, says: "It is impossible to disguise or palter with the fact that the government of Ireland has passed or is rapidly passing out of the hands of her Majesty's ministers." The Dublin *Freeman's Journal* supports Mr. Parnell's demand that the Irish people be permitted to raise their own revenue and protect their industries.

Sir Charles Dilke spoke at Chelsea on Tuesday. He taunted Lord Salisbury with submitting weakly to German annexations every-

where, and warned the Government that France intended to dominate Europe. He advised the Cabinet to confer upon Ireland the widest elective self-government compatible with the integrity of the Empire. It was impossible, he said, to justify the Castle system.

Sir Charles Dilke was married on Saturday to the widow of Prof. Mark Pattison.

The Earl of Shaftesbury died in England on Thursday, at the age of eighty-four. He succeeded to his father's name and estate in 1851. Before that he had served in Parliament, his whole term in both houses being fifty-six years. He achieved distinction by his devotion to social, industrial, and intellectual reform movements, and was comparatively indifferent to politics as such. He agitated for laws reducing the hours of labor to ten; improving workshops, factories, and lodging-houses; relating to the care of children, and affecting the sanitary and moral condition of the humbler classes. He had been President of the Ragged School Union from its formation in 1844 until his death.

Mr. John Ruskin has had a relapse and is suffering from acute mania.

Miss Emma Nevada, the singer, was married in Paris on Thursday to Dr. Raymond Palmer, of Birmingham, Eng. The attendance was large; American, English, and Parisian fashionable society being well represented.

A despatch to a St. Petersburg paper from Askabad on Sunday said: "The English have taken entire possession of Herat, and have ordered the inhabitants to quit the town immediately. The inhabitants, angered by the action of the English, have thrown up earthworks opposite the citadel. The English are being strongly reinforced." This report was officially denied in London on Monday. The only foundation for it is that English officers are assisting the Amir to strengthen the fortifications.

The Danish Diet opened its session on Monday. The session promises to be the most stormy that the people of Denmark have ever witnessed. The relations of the contending parties are strained to the utmost, and some violent scenes are anticipated, as an attempt will be made to force the King to comply with the vote of the Diet at the previous session, to dismiss his obnoxious ministers. His Majesty will also probably be a subject of serious discussion for having levied taxes by royal decree when the Diet refused to vote the budget, and saying that he was determined to continue to do so until the representatives of the people returned to a sense of what he conceives to be their duty. The people throughout Denmark are greatly excited at the arbitrary action of the King.

The Danish expedition to East Greenland, after an absence of twenty-nine months, has returned to Copenhagen. The expedition made a special chart of a hitherto unknown coast reaching latitude 66° 8' north, and named it Christian IX. Land.

The report that Belgium had withdrawn from the Latin Monetary Convention was officially denied on Tuesday.

It is again reported that the Carolines dispute has been definitively settled, through the good offices of the Pope.

Ras Alula announces a great defeat of the followers of El Mahdi near Amdeb. It is now believed that it will not be necessary to relieve Kassala.

Rioting was resumed in Montreal on Tuesday evening in front of the Exposition building. Soldiers, who were on guard, drove the French Canadians away. Several of the former were injured by missiles.

The Labrador fisheries have proved a failure, and the inhabitants on that inhospitable shore are starving. Cod and mackerel seem to have vanished from the waters. The sufferings of the women and children are terrible.

A REALLY PRACTICAL STATESMAN.

THE "negro problem," as every one knows, has for half a century greatly vexed the American people. It was in the beginning divided into two parts. One was how to make the negroes free men. This reached a solution through the war, which both Republicans and Democrats carried on. The other was how to make the negroes free voters. Of this the Republican party took exclusive charge in 1865, and tried on it any kind of legislation they pleased. There then followed one of the most extraordinary phenomena in political history. On all other occasions in the history of constitutional countries of which we have any knowledge, whenever the party in power undertook to do a thing, and failed to do it, after a reasonable trial, the job was taken away from them and they had to acknowledge that they had made a failure, or their failure was used by their opponents as a good reason why they should go out of power. In England, for instance, in 1879, the Tories were driven out of office for not pacifying the Transvaal and Afghanistan. At a later period, after Mr. Forster had been furnished with the powers he asked for, for the pacification of Ireland, and failed to pacify it, he had to leave the Cabinet. At this moment one of the arguments which occupy the very front rank in the electoral canvasses in both France and England against the existing ministry in each country, is that it has failed to do a good many things which it undertook to do on assuming office, and therefore ought to be displaced.

It will always remain, however, one of the great curiosities of political argumentation, that the Republican party steadily maintains that the longer it remained in power without securing to the negroes the free exercise of the franchise, the longer it ought to be allowed to remain. Ordinarily the state of things which Messrs. Sherman and Hoar describe as existing at the South to-day, such as the disfranchisement and insecurity of the negro population, after twenty years of Republican rule, would be heard of only from their opponents. In any other country, or any other age of the world, these gentlemen would be engaged in concealing this state of things, or painting the social and political condition of the South in roseate colors, and the Democrats would be engaged in dragging the horrors of the situation to light. Fancy, for instance, Gladstone addressing his constituents as follows, not as a reason for resigning, but as a reason for his reelection: "It is difficult, gentlemen, to give you an adequate idea of the state of Egypt after three years of occupation under my Ministry. From Alexandria to Wady Halfa there is no security for either life or property. The peasantry are taxed and flogged just as they were in the old days of Turkish domination, and the finances are in a deplorable and, to my mind, an irremediable state of confusion. In Ireland things do not look a particle better than when I took office in 1880. Life and property are no more secure; the peasantry are as discontented as ever. The landlords cannot get their rents, and every voter who goes to the polls is escorted by bludgeon men of the Land League, who compel him to support their candidates by means of the most horrible threats. The police

and courts are in full sympathy with the offenders, so that convictions for crime are impossible. My various remedial measures, such as the Church Disestablishment, the Land Act, and the Arrears Act, have been wholly ineffective. I therefore ask with confidence for a continuance of your support as the only person competent to set things to rights in these unhappy countries." Of course, the Midlothian voters on hearing this would conclude that the once powerful mind of the Grand Old Man was failing him, and they would look sorrowfully elsewhere for a representative.

Now, as a matter of fact, the talk of Messrs. Hoar and Sherman is much more ridiculous than this of Gladstone's would be, for in England the Prime Minister has unlimited powers of legislation through his majority in Parliament. What the Hoars and Shermans maintain is that this state of things at the South, which they describe, would somehow be cured by putting a Republican President in office, although no President has any legislative power, and although every Southern outrage which they recall occurred under a Republican Administration. The Hamburg massacre happened under Grant, and the Copiah County murders under Arthur. But who that knew nothing of the facts, except what he heard from the Republican stump, would suppose that this was possible?

The climax of this immense historic absurdity was reached at the Massachusetts Convention on Tuesday week, as might have been expected, by Mr. George F. Hoar. No better illustration of the political decline of that great State could be furnished than the fact that this man is taken seriously by his party, and occupies Webster's chair in the Senate. According to him it is not Grant, or Hayes, or Arthur who is responsible for a state of things at the South described as beginning in 1865, and lasting down to our time, but Cleveland, who only came into office last March, and has no power whatever, not so much as Hoar himself, to protect either life, property, or suffrage at the South; and the Democrats, who, during all that period, have only had a majority in both branches of the Legislature during two years. It is to Hoar's credit, however, that he has at last proved himself a true reformer by producing a remedy for the evils he deplors. This is now his plan of accomplishing, under the Democrats, what twenty years of Republican rule failed to accomplish through legislation or administration. We fear a great many light-minded persons will look on it as a contribution to the humorous literature of the day. To them we say Senator Hoar never jokes. He is, above all things, a serious man occupied with serious things:

The true remedy for this evil is the Republican remedy, viz.:

Take away the great motives to it by preventing the election of any candidate for the Presidency willing to accept office gained by these means;

Have a House of Representatives who will allow no man illegally chosen to retain his seat;

Refuse political affiliation with men who do these things;

Treat a man who would accept an office so gained as unfit to be voted for, as you would treat a man at the North who accepted an office gained by corruption;

Have a Congress who will pass effective laws for the restraint of these things, and who will make appropriations for the enforcement of such laws;

Have an Executive who will do his best to en-

force such laws; who will not reward criminals against the purity of elections with high public office, and who will not interpose to prevent such criminals, when convicted, from receiving their lawful punishment;

Promote by every public and private instrumentality education all over the country;

Keep aroused and alive public sentiment, stronger than laws or than armies—that public sentiment with which Daniel Webster threatened to shake the Czar of Russia from his throne if he dared to meddle with Kossuth;

Appeal earnestly and kindly to the men of the South themselves to desist from doing these things; and from training their young men in these processes—an appeal never yet heard from Democratic lips;

Satisfy the white men of the South that we are their truest friends, by emulating their own leaders in heartiest support of every interest.

The first remedy reminds us of an old gentleman in Connecticut before the war, who was disgusted by the noise and uproar of the Presidential canvass, and used to ask "why people could not get together, and agree on the best man, and then elect him." The second is like unto it. We cordially agree with the Senator, but would go one step further. We would have a House of Representatives composed entirely of blameless and wise men, like Mr. Hoar himself. In fact, while about it, we would have a House resembling in character and motives the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. The plan of not speaking to Southerners who accept office so gained at the South is also good, and can be easily carried out in Massachusetts. The suggestion of a good Congress, that will always pass the right laws and make appropriations for their enforcement, and a President who will enforce them, is also excellent.

In fact, we make bold to say that these suggestions show Mr. Hoar to be a truly good man, but they seem to indicate a sort of mind better fitted for the superintendence of a Sunday-school than a seat in the United States Senate. They rouse in one, on hearing the Sage utter them, the feeling which prompted Charles Lamb, on hearing a man say that "Shakspeare was a great writer," to take up a candle and advance on him for the purpose of examining his bumps. One cannot, too, in all conscience be it said, help feeling anxious for a community which in 1885 has such a particularly pure old man for its foremost legislator. Is it any wonder the ignorant Irish are taking possession of the State, when one listens to stuff of this sort offered as practical politics from one of its elderly politicians, and hears one of the younger ones, like Mr. Lodge, reading a small list of Cleveland's mistakes in minor appointments as a fair illustration of the manner in which he is administering an office into which these very men tried to put the hero of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, and quibbled, evaded, equivocated and wriggled in order to do so?

SIGNS OF A POLITICAL BREAK-UP.

THE political situation in the three States whose elections this month and next are attracting most attention—New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania—is unusually interesting. At present the outlook favors a Republican victory in New York and Pennsylvania, and a Democratic victory in Ohio. New York is likely to be carried by the Republicans because they have nominated a ticket which friends of good government in all parties can support. If the Democrats had

nominated a ticket with the same qualification, they would have carried the State without the slightest difficulty, and by a larger majority than the Republicans are likely to get. Pennsylvania promises a Republican victory simply because the party there has so large and so subservient a majority that even the candidacy of a man notoriously unfit cannot be depended upon to overthrow it completely; yet there are slight doubts of Mr. Quay's election, which may increase between now and November. In Ohio the Democrats have the brighter prospects, chiefly because their opponents are weakened by the defection of the temperance element, and have failed to arouse the interest of their own followers by making their campaign chiefly upon dead issues.

In each of these States the result will have a different significance. We notice a continued inability on the part of many newspapers outside this State to comprehend the peculiarity of the canvass here. They cannot understand the Independent position, which is that the best way to sustain the Cleveland Administration is to elect the Republican State ticket. They say that they can understand how the Independents can approve the President's civil-service reform policy by this course, but how, they ask, about protection and free trade? how about the sectional issue? The answer is that the tariff and the sectional issue have nothing to do with the canvass. But they are both in the Republican platform? So they are, but nobody is electing the platform to office, and nobody of any intelligence believes that the declarations of the platform will have any influence upon the candidates after election. What have New York State officers to do with the tariff and with the Southern question? The voters of this State are asked to decide which of two sets of candidates is better fitted to give the State honest and intelligent government, and they are not going to be turned aside from that question by childish allusions to the poor negro and protection to American industry. They are much clearer-headed on this point than many of their professional leaders and advisers, as the great body of voters always are. The tariff and the Southern question were pushed forward incessantly during the last Presidential campaign, and every effort was made by the Republican managers to make them the controlling issues in the canvass; but, though it was a national campaign and these issues were of importance in it, the voters went behind them and decided the election on the more vital issue of the personal fitness of the candidates. They will do the same thing in New York this year.

The same issue of fitness will have its influence in Pennsylvania also, though it may not be powerful enough to defeat the Republican candidate. The party majority is certain to be greatly reduced, and the only cause therefor will be the unfitness of the nominee. It would be a great gain for the cause of good government everywhere if a sufficient number of Republican voters could forget their partisanship sufficiently to subject their own party to the wholesome discipline of defeat, for a lesson of that kind from Pennsylvania would mean more than from any other State in the Union.

There are many peculiarities about the situation in Ohio. At the outset the Republicans seemed to have the better chance for winning at the polls next Tuesday, but they appear to have lost ground steadily from that time. They chose to make their canvass chiefly upon the sectional issue, and this has clearly failed to excite any enthusiasm among the voters. Whatever the result, their experience has already shown that the sectional issue is dead; that the voters no longer care for it; and that if the party is to hold its following henceforth, it must devote itself to the living questions of the day.

The one sign which is apparent in all three States, and in every other State as well, is that the old party platforms have had their day, and no longer mean anything to anybody. The Massachusetts Republicans were progressive enough to recognize this fact, and to construct a declaration on a new model. It is useless to attempt longer to scare off voters from a good candidate by pointing to a stupid plank in the platform, or to win voters to a bad candidate by pointing to a sound plank, for every voter knows that the real platform is the candidate himself. President Cleveland has done more to strengthen this wholesome view than any man who has held high office for years. His enemies in both parties are quarrelling with him because he is keeping his own pledges, and is refusing to consider them as mere platform fulminations. "Whether you were sincere or not," he virtually says to the platform-makers, "in your resolutions favoring reform, is your own affair; as for me, I meant what I said, and I am going to keep my word." That is where character comes into the question of a candidate's fitness, and it is Mr. Cleveland's character alone which is the bulwark of his reform administration. It is Mr. Davenport's character, not the fact that he voted for Blaine, or the fact that he stands upon a protection platform, or the fact that the platform has a stupid sectional-issue plank, or the fact that the whole document was written by Colonel George Bliss, which is the decisive issue in the New York campaign. Every day in every State this question of character is coming to have greater weight in deciding elections, and, whether parties change their names or not, they will be obliged to drop their worn-out issues and conform to the demands of the constantly growing body of voters who think the cause of good government is a higher one than the welfare of any party, however grand may be its record.

THE HEALTH OF AMERICAN WOMEN.

It is nearly fifty years since Harriet Martineau wrote an account of her travels in this country. Of the various remarkable transformations that have taken place within that time, not the least important is the improvement in health in general, and especially in the health of women. Miss Martineau was greatly shocked, not only at the wide prevalence of enfeebled health, but especially at the apathy which existed in regard to it. "Invalids," she says, "are remarkably uncomplaining and unalarmed; and their friends talk of their having a weak breast and delicate lungs with little more seriousness than the Eng-

lish use in speaking of a common cold." "What is to become of the next, and again of the succeeding generation, if the average of health cannot be raised, it is fearful to think of." Americans have not yet attained to the robustness and the vigorous color of the parent race, but they can no longer be considered a nation of invalids. The fragile and chalky young ladies who were in fashion twenty years ago have given place to young women of clear, bright color, and healthy, vigorous step; the hollow-chested ministers and the lean and sallow business men of a former day have passed away, never, let us hope, to return.

The causes of the general improvement are not far to seek. There has doubtless been a marked change in diet. Thoroughly good cooking is no longer a rarity in private families, and the distinctively American contributions to the list of table delicacies are not regarded with the favor which they once enjoyed. Abundant markets and general prosperity have brought within everybody's reach a variety and excellence of food which ought to be much more conducive to health than the Englishman's monotony of mutton and gooseberry tart. Much more important is the change of sentiment in regard to the desirableness of keeping one's self in good physical condition. Much preaching has brought about the belief that strength is virtue, and that bad health is a species of bad morals. A low diet is no longer cultivated for the sake of delicacy of body or spirituality of mind. Invalids have become complaining, and, as in religious matters, conviction of sin is a first step toward recovery.

The feeble condition of American women Miss Martineau attributed to the vacuity of their minds. There has without doubt been a remarkable enlargement in the range of subjects with which women concern themselves, at the same time that there has been a marked improvement in their health; but it is perhaps not absolutely certain that the two facts stand in the relation of cause and effect. That there is nothing injurious to the health of women in a severe course of study does, however, seem to be established by the statistics recently collected in regard to the health of college graduates. Of the 1,300 women graduates of colleges in this country, 705 have replied in detail to an exhaustive schedule of questions sent out by the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, and their replies have been collated and tabulated by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor. They are so far as we know, the first detailed statistics that have ever been collected in regard to the health of a class of persons who are not in hospitals and who are not engaged in swelling the death-rate, and they offer many other points of interest besides furnishing a conclusive answer to the main question for the sake of which they were gathered.

It appears that of the graduates who have sent in replies, 85 per cent. are of American parentage, 23 per cent. spent their childhood in the city alone and 58 per cent. in the country alone; that they began study at the age of 5 to 6 years (41 per cent. at home and 57 per cent. at school), took 4.01 hours of exercise every day, and entered college when 18.35 years old. On entering college, 78 per cent. were in good health, 2 per cent. in fair, and 20 per cent. in poor health. Deterioration in health during the college course was shown by 19.58 per cent., and improvement in health by 21.13 per cent., or the percentage of those to whom a college course was beneficial was 1.55 greater than that of those to whom it was injurious. From statistics collected last year by the Massachusetts Bureau in regard to the health of working girls in Boston, it appears that 16 per cent. of those who returned answers have been injured in health by their occupation. If the number of women whose health has been

injured by the cares of maternity could be obtained, a much greater falling off would doubtless be shown.

Among those who studied severely during their college life, the most prevalent cause of disorders was constitutional weakness. Three per cent. of those whose parents were both in good health show an increase of health, and 17 per cent. of those whose parents were both in poor health show a decline. Only thirty cases in all of brain trouble are reported, and only twelve of diseases of the eyes. In conclusion, the Bureau of Statistics of Labor says:

"The facts which we have presented would seem to warrant the assertion that the seeking of a college education on the part of women does not in itself necessarily entail a loss of health or serious impairment of the vital forces. Indeed, the tables show this so conclusively that there is little need, were it within our province, for extended discussion on the subject. The graduates, as a body, entered college in good health, passed through the course of study prescribed without material change in health, and, since graduation, by reason of the effort required to gain a higher education, do not seem to have become unfitted to meet the responsibilities or bear their proportionate share of the burdens of life."

CONDITIONS OF THE IRISH PROBLEM.

LONDON, September 15, 1885.

In a previous letter I endeavored to indicate the impression made in England by Mr. Parnell's recent declarations, and the views which English politicians generally are disposed to express on the Irish problem. In this one I must attempt to point out the conditions of the problem itself, and the aspects of it most likely to become prominent in the discussions which will shortly occupy Parliament and the country. Assuming, what there is every ground to assume, that the Irish Nationalists in the new Parliament will number from seventy-five to eighty, they will be able to press their claim to separate legislation so forcibly upon the Government and the English and Scottish members supporting it, that if it is refused, some strong reasons for the refusal must be assigned, and an alternative scheme suggested. The English have practically admitted that the present state of things is not right, and that something must be done. They are therefore bound to provide themselves with a plan of reform to be offered to the representatives of Ireland in case the solution propounded by the latter is held inadmissible.

In devising a scheme of improved administration and self-government for Ireland three objects must be kept in view. One is to give to the people of Ireland what is best for them—a system under which they will be quietly and peacefully, efficiently, purely, cheaply governed. A second is to satisfy their wishes and longings for self-government, and to respect, perhaps even to indulge, their sentiment of Irish nationality. The third is to maintain the unity of the British Empire, and especially of that heart and kernel of it which lies within the four seas that wash the British Isles. These objects are not necessarily compatible, and the main difficulty of the matter lies in determining to what extent they really are compatible; or if not, which should yield to the others.

Most English politicians are agreed with the Irish Nationalists in desiring the abolition of that farce of royalty, the Lord Lieutenantcy, and in proposing to overhaul what is called "Dublin Castle," the machinery of officials which administers Ireland from Dublin. Even Mr. Clifford Lloyd, whose energetic action under Mr. W. E. Forster in 1881 and 1882 roused such animosity of the Land League party against him, has lately pronounced in a long letter to the newspapers against the maintenance of this system; and

it is not likely to find many defenders in the next Parliament. But what is to be substituted for it? There must be some sort of central administration for all Ireland, and the problem is, how to construct such an administration which will be efficient and yet not unpopular. Destruction is easy enough, but difficulties begin when construction comes in view. So far as English statesmen have formed a plan, they incline to place all the boards needed for education, public works, poor-law management, and so forth, immediately under a Secretary of State for Ireland, who shall be an official of higher rank and power than the Irish Secretary (who is technically only a Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant; has hitherto been, and shall always sit in the Cabinet. But this by itself may be of no great service, for the boards of the future may be just as much out of sympathy with the masses as the boards of the past have been, and the new Secretary of State will probably support them as much and control them as little as the Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant has hitherto done.

Hence the reforming party in England proposes to go further, and create a system of popular local government in Ireland. It is suggested that every county should have its elective board, and that large powers of imposing local taxes and managing local affairs, *e. g.*, education, roads and bridges, asylums, possibly prisons, might be given to them. Ought they to have also the control of the police? In England, this is a county affair; but it is asked whether a matter so delicate and important could be left in Ireland at the mercy of the sort of persons whom the electors would in their present temper choose. The Irish police, it must be remembered, is a sort of military force, very different from the constables of an English county.

That private bills—*i. e.*, bills intended to grant powers to individuals or corporations, as, for instance, to make a railway, to construct gas or water works—relating to Ireland should have to be passed by the Parliament in London, and that for the purpose of passing them the parties interested and their witnesses should be brought over to London at a serious expense of money and time, has long been complained of as a grievance. To meet it and give further satisfaction to the Irish demand that they should do their own work at home, it is proposed to establish some sort of tribunal or body in Ireland for the purpose of dealing with private-bill legislation. These may be said to be the three planks in the platform of English Radicalism on the subject of Irish self-government. There is nothing alarming in them; nothing which most Conservatives may not accept; nothing which the present Government might not itself propose.

Unluckily, they are by no means what the Nationalist party wants. It would deride the notion that they constitute a real righting of Irish wrongs, a real gift of self-government to the Irish people. Nothing less than a Parliament of their own will do; and a Parliament of their own means to them not only a Parliament but a budget, a ministry—such a system of central and local government in Ireland as this Irish Parliament will call into being for itself. The question therefore arises, Can this demand for legislative independence be granted? It is so important to pacify and satisfy Ireland if she can be pacified and satisfied, that the reformer must be content to go further than the needs of mere good government require. He must, in fact, go as far as he can without bringing about a condition of things in which more bitter strife and an ultimate disruption of the Empire become probable.

The objections to an Irish Parliament—objections which have received very little discussion in England, because public opinion has in a

blunt, unlogical English fashion simply declared itself against the idea without going into reasons—are partly constitutional, partly practical. The chief constitutional objection is, that it would apparently be necessary to turn the present United Kingdom into a sort of federation, creating a new council or assembly of some kind superior both to the Irish Parliament and to what would then be the English and Scottish Parliament—an assembly which should deal with questions pertaining to foreign and colonial policy and the military and naval services of the Empire, since these would remain matters of joint concern for both islands. We should therefore need a Federal Constitution and some sort of Federal Court to interpret that constitution. The independent authority of the Irish Parliament would, however, apparently, on Mr. Parnell's scheme, be greater than that of any State of the American Union, because it would include the power, which of course no American State nor Canadian Province can exercise, of imposing a protective tariff against English and Scottish manufactures. This would be an enormous change, highly inconvenient to England, because it would introduce a swarm of difficulties which under our system of one omnipotent Parliament do not arise, and because a federation between two states so different in population and wealth as Great Britain on one side and Ireland on the other would be far less likely to work smoothly than the American Union does. It has been suggested that Scotland, too, might have her own Parliament, but Scotland wants no Parliament, being perfectly satisfied with things as they are. The only escape from the legal complications which a federal constitution must involve would be to retain the supremacy of the present Imperial Parliament and create an Irish Parliament beneath it. But this would not satisfy the Nationalists, because the Imperial Parliament could in that case reverse anything done by Ireland for herself; nor would it be pleasant for the English, because they would still have Irish members in the Imperial Parliament, who would be able to make themselves as troublesome as they do now in case they had any complaints against an English Ministry or the English Parliamentary majority.

The practical objection to the scheme is, that it might involve conflicts between England and Ireland not less serious than those of the last few years, but conflicts in which the Nationalists would have advantages greater than they now enjoy. They would then have obtained a legal recognition as a nation distinct from the English and Scottish nation, and their Parliament would speak with national authority. Their position in the eyes of the world at large would be a stronger one than they now possess. They would have enough control over the administration of the country to make their antagonism to the military power of the United Kingdom more formidable than it could become under the present system. Grounds for struggles between them and England would still remain. Even supposing that England looked quietly on while laws were passed by an Irish Parliament bearing hardly on the landlords—many of whom are Englishmen or related to English families; foreign affairs, and colonial affairs, and the joint imperial budget, which would be partly chargeable on Irish taxpayers, would supply frequent occasions for dispute. The control of an English majority would be resented in Ireland; Irish Nationalists would ask why they should pay for the maintenance of a huge force to protect English colonies and commerce, to defend India, or safeguard English interests in the Mediterranean. The agitation against England would recommence, but it would now be an agitation for a complete separation of the two islands. England would thus be at last

driven either to recall her concessions and govern Ireland by force, or else to let the island go, and see a hostile Power—weak, no doubt, but able to enter into alliances with powerful foreign States—established within sight of her western coasts from Cantyre as far as Pembroke.

Compromises might be suggested to meet some of these difficulties. Instead of giving Ireland one central Parliament in Dublin, she might be allowed to have four, one in each province, all of course subject to the authority of the Imperial Parliament in London. The Nationalists, however, would not accept this, nor of course would it at all relieve the Imperial Parliament from the obstructive activity of Nationalist members. Or again, if a central representative body were created to meet in Dublin, it might receive from the Imperial Parliament a delegated power of legislation, limited to particular topics, or subject to certain specified conditions. The former difficulty would, however, recur under this plan. The members of this central assembly would complain that they had not a sufficiently free hand, and would set down all failures to the maintenance of English control. The concession would be used merely as a step to further concessions, ending with the repeal of the Union or the separation of the Crowns. In fact, England seems, by yielding any kind of autonomy to Ireland, beyond that which she is proposing to give to her own counties by the establishment of County Boards, to be placing herself on an inclined plane, where the descent is easy and sure to that final severance of the two islands from one another which would be an unquestionable evil for Ireland, and, to say the least, a serious annoyance, a possible menace, to Great Britain. Yet unhappily England does not feel that she now stands on firm and satisfactory ground. Ireland has doubtless been wronged in the past, and there is always, in free governments, a presumption in favor of giving to the people of any district, or a large majority of them, that which they ask for. Self-government would have the enormous advantage of enabling the Irish to acquire that training in government, that knowledge of its difficulties, that sense of responsibility, which they now lack, and which they can scarcely gain while they are able to lay the blame of all and every misfortune on the shoulders of an alien assembly.

The question of the right of one part of a State to secede from the rest is one of the most perplexing that ever present themselves in politics. In the case of your Union, twenty-five years ago, it was complicated by legal questions regarding the true construction of the constitutional part of 1789, and by the existence of a minority loyal to the Union in most of the seceding States. In the present Anglo-Irish case it is complicated by the fact that through Ireland, and especially in the province of Ulster, there is a population, nearly one-fourth of the whole, and conspicuous for its industry, wealth, and intelligence, which is firmly attached to the union with Great Britain, and dreads the creation of an Irish Parliament. It is not impossible that, in the event of a complete political separation of the islands, this part of the population would take up arms against the majority, so that the retirement of England might involve a civil war, and a civil war in which English sympathy would be so strongly involved that intervention would be likely to follow. One may say that the right of secession, like the "sacred right of insurrection," is one of those things as to which no general rule can be laid down, but which must usually be judged by the result. In the present case, it is clear that Ireland is not strong enough to secede; it is even doubtful whether the Nationalist majority would be strong enough to overpower by force the minority of intelligent and pugnacious anti-secessionists. The

appeal of the Parnellite party is therefore no wise to violence, but partly to the good-feeling of England, partly to the principles of free government she professes to hold; most of all, to her fear of the trouble and vexation which Irish members can cause to her Parliament.

The problem is far from insoluble. A strong English Government, secure of remaining in power to pursue a consistent policy for twenty years, could solve it with less friction than was involved in the reconstruction of your Union after the end of the war of secession. But the two English parties are so equally divided, and English ministries are so absolutely at the mercy of fluctuating Parliamentary majorities, that there is little prospect of any consistent policy, or indeed of the taking of any steps with a view to the more distant future. English statesmen seem for the moment more inclined to legislate on a hand-to-mouth principle, and to seek from the masses a guidance which the masses are incapable of giving, than to think out, proclaim, and stand by a comprehensive and self-consistent policy of their own. Y.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE SWISS CONFEDERATION.

LONDON, September 15, 1885.

EVERY year hundreds of Americans pass through Switzerland. Not one in a thousand learns anything about the political and social condition of a country which, to the members of the English people on either side the Atlantic, is, as Mr. Leslie Stephen has termed it, "the playground of Europe." Yet to observers who turn their attention from mountain ranges to the citizens who live at their foot, Switzerland seems not so much a playground where Americans and Englishmen may recruit their health, as a laboratory where may be seen carried on before our eyes social and constitutional experiments the issue of which will throw light on the prospects of modern democracy. To a citizen, moreover, of the Union, Switzerland presents sources of interest not to be found in any other European community. It is the one example existing in Europe of successful federalism; it is at once the forerunner and the follower of the United States. In 1789 Switzerland presented one of the rare instances in which a Federal State had held its own in the contest for existence with the body of centralized monarchies. No one can suppose from the pages of the *Federalist* that its authors had deeply studied Swiss annals. But the existence for centuries of a confederacy which, however laxly united, had still contrived to stand up against fearful odds, must have given encouragement to the hope that the effort to form a great Federal Republic would not end in disaster.

However this may have been, the statesmen who in 1848 gave Switzerland a new constitution and a new life, were profoundly influenced by the lessons of American federalism. Indeed, a hasty glance at their work suggests an idea, which is at bottom profoundly erroneous, that Swiss politicians have achieved little else than the working out of a copy in small of their great American model. The Federal Assembly, with its National Council and Council of States, at once recalls Congress, with its House of Representatives and Senate. The relation between the Central Government and the Cantons bears a close though not an exact resemblance to the relation between the National Government and the States of the Union. The Federal Tribunal, if not exactly modelled upon the Supreme Court of the United States, yet bears a strong family likeness to it. These resemblances are not accidental; a critic who was ignorant of the ex-

istence of the United States would find it as hard to understand many details of the Swiss Constitution as a student who had never studied the characteristics of the Constitution of England would find it to understand the articles of the Constitution of Belgium or of Italy.

It is, again, apparent that in some points which arrest the attention of every historian, the federalism of Switzerland has achieved exactly the same kind of success as has been attained by the federalism of America. In each case there has been an astounding reconciliation of local diversity with national unity; and of the two confederations, Switzerland has, in proportion to its resources, struggled with the greater difficulties. The country was of course free from all the perplexities caused to American statesmanship by the existence of slavery, but in every other respect the men who built up the fabric of modern Swiss federalism had to solve problems and meet risks more perplexing than the questions which demanded a practical answer from the founders of the United States. In 1847 Switzerland was torn by religious dissensions which were the outcome of discord that had endured for centuries, and were connected with that vast Ultramontane movement which still endangers the liberties of the great Continental states. In Switzerland, again, political and religious differences were mixed up with differences of race and internal dissensions which threatened at every moment to introduce foreign intervention. There is something almost ridiculous in comparing the War of the Sonderbund, in which little over 100 men perished, with the War of Secession and its hundreds of thousands of victims. But neither Grant nor Lee would have refused a tribute of admiration to the masterly generalship of Dufour, while the promptitude with which the Swiss Confederacy realized the extent of the danger in which the country was involved, and the energy of the Swiss leaders in at once summoning 100,000 men to arms and striking down rebellion before it had had time to collect all its forces, compares very favorably with the attitude of the North in the earlier stages of the contest with Secession. Nor did Switzerland fall essentially behind America in the exercise of that clemency which, after a deadly struggle, affords the only prospect of national reconciliation. The traditions of Swiss jurisprudence were bloody and cruel; and it is certainly remarkable that in 1848 Swiss Federalists put down rebellion without inflicting capital punishment on a single rebel.

Theorists are apt to attribute the success of federalism in America to the size of the United States and to their freedom from all risks of foreign intervention. When thinkers are asked to explain the triumphs of the federal principle in Switzerland they find its causes in the smallness of the country and in the moderation imposed on Swiss politics by the pressure of powerful neighbors. It is rash to draw any certain inference from the results of two political experiments. Still, Switzerland and the United States suggest that under favorable circumstances the federal scheme of government may, just because the federal bond is loose even when it is strong, produce a condition of calm political sentiment very favorable to the removal of those bitter and lasting animosities which even now divide and weaken the populations of some of the greatest among European states. Another conclusion forced upon a critic by a comparison of American and Swiss history is, that a federal state, needs for its continued existence the increasing development of national sentiment. De Tocqueville was convinced that both in America and in Switzerland "State rights" would in the long run be too strong for the central power. The growth of the sentiment of nationality in each case falsified his prediction.

A critic, further, of politics who looks upon the Confederacy of Switzerland or the United States of America as high works of legislative art, may derive much instruction from comparing the different methods by which the constitutionalists of each country have attempted to solve essentially similar problems, and the different degrees of success which have crowned their efforts.

Swiss constitutionalism has, it will be found, failed at exactly those points where the triumph of American statesmanship has been most conspicuous. Nothing, for example, in the institutions of America has excited more admiration among foreigners than the position given under the Constitution to the Federal judiciary. Nothing, on the other hand, is less satisfactory than the position occupied in Switzerland by the Federal Tribunal. That body, it is true, recalls the Supreme Court of the United States, but it has few of the claims to authority possessed by the American court. Its judges are not appointed for life; it is not empowered to adjudicate on the validity of laws passed by the Federal Assembly; it is incompetent to deal with many matters which in England, no less than in America, would fall within the jurisdiction of the judges; its decisions are, it would appear, enforced by the action of the executive. The tendency, indeed, of opinion throughout the Confederacy is to strengthen the position of the Federal Tribunal. But even were the authority of the court greatly extended, it would never attain to anything like the power possessed not only by the Supreme Court of America, but even by the English bench. The truth is, that the traditions of Swiss history are unfavorable to the development of that regular supremacy of the law of the land which is the marked characteristic of the institutions founded by the English people on both sides of the Atlantic. The more closely the Swiss Federal Constitution and the Cantonal constitutions of Switzerland are studied, the more apparent it becomes that the tendency of the Swiss people is still, as it has been for centuries, to allow to the legislature the exercise of judicial functions. The Swiss have scarcely as yet recognized the truth which lies hid under the much misunderstood dogma of the separation of powers.

If the greatest glory of the founders of the American republic was to constitute the law courts the guardians of the Constitution, their second great achievement was to form the most powerful second chamber which has ever been called into existence. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the originality, the boldness, or the success of the arrangement by which the Senate was made the representative of the States. Its success was so patent that the Swiss statesmen of 1848 were, in spite of their great distaste for second chambers, almost compelled to follow the example set by the statesmen of America. The Council of States, in which each Canton is represented by two members, might well have been expected to fill the place and exert the authority of the American Senate—the expectation was, in fact, entertained by the leading men of Switzerland. It has been, however, entirely disappointed. From one cause or another the second chamber in Switzerland occupies a position distinctly inferior to that of the National Council, or, to use the equivalent American expression, of the House of Representatives. Various causes may be assigned for a result which no one appears to have anticipated. The Swiss "Senate," if one may use a name which does not strictly belong to the Council of States, was from the first hampered by the traditions of the old Swiss Diet. It never possessed those powers which connect the American Senate with the Executive. Each Canton determines the time for which its Senators shall hold office. On several matters of im-

portance the Senate votes together with, and is therefore outnumbered by, the members of the House of Representatives. To all these special sources of weakness one may perhaps add a cause of a more general character: a second chamber is an institution unknown to the Swiss Cantons. Its place is at the present day to a great extent supplied by the preëminently Swiss arrangement of the Referendum, under which the validity of a law depends ultimately on the direct assent of the sovereign people. To trace out, however, the whole of the reasons which have prevented the Swiss Council of States from becoming the most influential part of the legislature, would be impossible within the space at my disposal. The important matter is to note that Swiss constitutionalists have not been able to produce a body of anything like the authority of the American Senate.

If the constitutionalism of Switzerland is in several respects markedly inferior to that of the American republic, there are at least two genuine products of Swiss political inventiveness which well deserve the attention of all persons interested in the success of democratic government.

The Referendum—an institution which, under different forms, exists in every Canton throughout the Confederacy, and also forms part of the Federal Constitution—is, for good or bad, likely to come into existence in every thoroughly democratic State. For reasons which I may explain in another letter, it is to my mind probable that, before many years are over, this scheme for submitting every law of importance to the approval of the electors may, in essence though not in name, become an integral portion of the British Constitution. However this may be, the fact is manifest enough that an arrangement which commends itself to the most democratic population of Europe cannot, in an age when democratic ideas are spreading far and wide, be dismissed without careful consideration. On one point alone connected with the Referendum is it necessary for the present purpose to dwell. This appeal to the people, as it exists in Switzerland, must be considered, on the whole, a conservative arrangement: it tends at once to hinder rapid change, and also to get rid of that inflexibility or immutability which, in the eyes of Englishmen at least, is a defect in the Constitution of the United States. It enables the Swiss people to revise the Constitution with something like the ease with which every law can be changed in England; it secures, at the same time, that no law of importance shall be changed if there be a strong popular feeling against innovation. There is needed no great sagacity to perceive the faults of the Referendum: it diminishes the importance of debate, and therefore lowers the character of any representative assembly whose determinations require for their validity the sanction of a reference to the people. But, in the present state of the world, it is some compensation for the evils of a Referendum that it gives to constitutions under which it exists more stability than can be ascribed to the political institutions of States which, like England, are ruled by a sovereign Parliament, and more flexibility than is compatible with a Constitution which, like that of the United States, can be legally changed only by a sovereign power which may not be called into activity more than once in half a century.

The mode, again, in which the Executive is appointed, under the Swiss Constitution, has the recommendation of combining to a certain extent the opposite merits of Cabinet government as it exists in England, and a Presidential government as it exists in America. The Federal Council fills the place of the English Ministry, or of the American President and his Ministers: it is the Executive of the Confederacy. Its members are

elected by the Federal Assembly—that is, by the two chambers sitting together. These members are appointed for a period of three years, and during that time cannot be removed from office. After the election of each new national Council, or, to use American phraseology, of each new House of Representatives, a new Council, which may, however, consist of the same members as the outgoing body, is elected by the Federal Assembly. Now, the main point to observe is, that this arrangement avoids some of the vices both of Cabinet government and of Presidential government. The Council is, like the American President, irremovable by the Federal Assembly. It does not depend for its continued existence on the shifts and changes of parties or factions. It is, again, like the English Cabinet, in close and immediate connection with the Assembly by which it is created. It is, of course, easy to put the same facts in a point of view unfavorable to Swiss institutions. The Council, it may be said, has neither the perfect independence of the American President, nor that absolute identity of feeling with the party predominant in the Assembly which is the strength of English Ministerial government. This criticism contains important truth. The Swiss system of appointing the Executive would, it may be admitted, be unsuitable for countries like Great Britain, where the Government must play a very active part, and where the weakness or the inertness of the Executive power may well mean national ruin. It is also plain that the Swiss system is all but incompatible with the conditions of party government as it flourishes either in England or in America. But the question whether parliamentary government necessarily means party government, is one to which cautious thinkers would be slow to give an off-hand answer. There is some reason for thinking that the success or failure of democratic institutions may ultimately turn on the possibility of keeping up representative institutions without creating the popular agitations and the fluctuations of policy which appear to be an unavoidable part of government by party. If this be so, the Swiss Constitution presents at least an ingenious attempt to obtain the merits of government by parliament without falling into the worst evils of government by faction. The attempt may turn out a failure, but neither Englishmen nor Americans ought to turn aside with contempt from a scheme for avoiding both the evils resulting from changes of Cabinet and the evils flowing from Presidential elections.

A. V. DICEY.

TOLSTOI'S 'MY RELIGION.'

PARIS, September 23, 1885.

ONE must be wanting in sensibility not to feel much gratitude, and almost personal affection, toward a writer who has given him new sensations, new emotions, new ideas of a noble and inspiring kind. Such, I confess, are my feelings for Count Tolstoi. I attempted lately to give you an imperfect idea of his 'War and Peace' and of 'Anna Karenin'—two works marked by the most extraordinary talent, and, I might say without exaggeration, by a wonderful genius. I was aware that Count Tolstoi had somewhat painted himself as Pierre Besushkoff in 'War and Peace'; that, having tried every form of thought, he had found a mental and intellectual refuge in religion. My Russian friends all told me that it was not worth my while to read the book in which Tolstoi has given to the world his *ultima verba*. There is something to be found and to be learned even in the aberrations of a great mind. I knew that Tolstoi was living in the country, and was doing all he could to *simplify* himself, as the Russians say;

that he had renounced the court, the world, and lived almost as a peasant among peasants, doing every day some physical and material work; that literary glory seemed to him, like all other glories, a mere vanity; that he had broken his pen, and taken hold of the plough. What was the secret of this change? What relation could there be between a delicate, refined mind like his and this mysterious Russian Nihilism, which has become abhorrent to the world since it has inspired so many crimes?

Here was a curious riddle to solve. I had known Ivan Turgeneff personally; and though there was no Nihilist in him, in spite of his having invented the word—though he had shown in his 'Fathers and Sons' his dread of the new materialistic doctrines professed in some of the Russian universities—he felt great leniency, an invincible kindness and affection for all those who were discontented, in his own country as well as in all Europe; with the men who represent more or less consciously what goes under the vague names here of reform and there of revolution. There must be a deep substratum of suffering and discontent in a country only emerging from barbarism. It is not in Russia as it is with old wine: the scum on the top, the lees at the bottom, the good wine between the two. The middle class hardly exists, and where it exists it is still despised; on the top there is a court and a servile aristocracy, an aristocracy of vanities, not of privileges; under this film are only the great and ignorant masses of the peasantry.

You see already in 'War and Peace,' as well as in 'Anna Karenin,' severe judgments upon the higher class, upon the generals, the courtiers, the worshippers of transient and ephemeral greatness. All the fine characters are living protests against the vanities and follies of a frivolous and corrupt aristocracy. Still, Tolstoi does not yet appear to us in the light of a reformer. How did he come to experience what the theologians call grace?

"I have not always," he says, "had the religious ideas which are set forth in this work ('My Religion'). For thirty-five years of my life I have been a Nihilist, in the exact acceptance of the word; not a revolutionary Socialist, a man who believes in nothing. Five years ago faith came upon me; I believed in the doctrine of Christ, and my life changed suddenly. I ceased to desire what I desired before, and I began to desire what I had never desired. What seemed to me good before, seemed now bad, and what had seemed bad seemed good. That happened to me which happens to a man who has gone out on some business. On his way he decides that the affair is not of much importance to him, and he returns home. What was on his left is now on his right, and what was on his right is now on his left."

Tolstoi informs us that for five years he has been working at a new translation, verse by verse, of the Four Gospels and making a new concordance. It is doubtful to me if he ever takes a high place among modern exegetes. His life will probably end before his work is done. What he now wishes to impart to his fellow-creatures is merely what might be called the sentimental part of his doctrine.

He had always recognized, even in the midst of his scepticism, the beauty of the Christian doctrine; he had made his submission to the Orthodox Church—the Church of the great laborious Russian population. But many things were repulsive to him in the Orthodox Church—the strangeness of its dogmas, the spirit of persecution, the approbation given to punishment by death, to war. He felt that the Church was taking for essential what was not essential, and that it neglected what was essential. He read and reread the Gospels.

"The Sermon on the Mount always seemed like something exceptional. I read it more than any other part. Nowhere does Christ speak with

more solemnity; nowhere does he give moral rules more clear, more accessible, or which find a greater echo in the hearts of every one. Nowhere does he address himself more to the multitude, to the people. If there are clear and precise Christian principles, it is here that they must be formulated. Therefore I looked for the solution of my doubts in the three chapters of Matthew, v., vi., and vii., and in the Sermon on the Mount."

We cannot follow Tolstoi in all his developments. It is enough to say that he finally lands in a doctrine of pure non-resistance: "We must not resist the wicked." As soon as he perceived this clearly, he found himself happy and at rest.

"From childhood," says he, "I had been taught that the doctrine of Jesus is divine, and at the same time I was taught to respect the institutions which guarantee by violence my security against the wicked. I had been told that these institutions were sacred; that I must resist the wicked; that it is humiliating to give way to him. I was taught to judge and to punish. Then I learned the profession of arms—that is to say, resistance to the wicked by homicide. The army of which I was a part was called the 'Christophile army,' and the blessings of Heaven were asked for it."

Tolstoi became, in fact, convinced that it is impossible to confess Christ and at the same time to work with premeditation for the organization of property, of tribunals, of States, of armies. The doctrine of non-resistance is no novelty in the United States, where it has been advocated by some of the noblest spirits; but I have not yet seen it carried to such extremes as in the 'Religion' of Tolstoi. He tells us rather amusingly how the two laws—the higher law and the law of the State—often come in opposition.

"One of these last days I was going toward the Borovitzky gate. Under it stood an old lame beggar, with his head tied up with a rag. I took out my purse to give him a little money. At the same instant I saw coming from the Kremlin, with rapid strides, a young grenadier with a red face, a martial air, and the sheepskin furnished by the State.

"The beggar, having seen the soldier, rose in great fear and ran, as fast as his feet allowed, toward the Alexander Garden. The grenadier, after running awhile, stopped, exclaiming against the beggar, who had established himself under the gate notwithstanding the rules.

"I waited for the grenadier. When he was near me, I asked him if he knew how to read:

"Yes, and why?"

"Have you read the Gospel?"

"Yes!"

"And do you remember the verse, 'And who shall feed the hungry,' etc.? I cited the passage. He remembered it and heard me till the end. I saw that he was uneasy. Two passers-by had stopped, and were listening.

"The grenadier seemed annoyed at the idea that having done his duty, having chased the passers-by from a place where it was forbidden to stop, he was in the wrong. He was looking for an excuse. Suddenly his eye brightened up, he looked at me over his shoulder, as people do when they depart.

"And the military regulation, do you know it?" said he.

"I said, 'No.'"

"Well, then, you have nothing to say," observed the grenadier, with a victorious movement of his head, and, putting his sheepskin back, he proudly walked away to his station. "He is the only man whom I have met, who is resolved with a true logic the eternal question which rises amid our social state, and which rises before every man who calls himself a Christian."

You see at once whither Tolstoi tends. He shuts up all the tribunals: "Judge not that ye be not judged." He condemns all executions, all modes of coercion, all national hatreds, all wars; he professes horror and contempt for all the professions—military, diplomatic, and political—which serve to keep men divided. Tolstoi considers all men as having a debt which they will never be able to pay. This debt binds them to all the generations of men, past, present, and future; all they can do for the others goes into a sort of sinking-fund. The true life is the life

which adds something to an immense capital, belonging to humanity itself.

This doctrine leads him to what the Russian Nihilists have called simplification. He describes with great eloquence life in the great cities, the perpetual struggle, the sufferings of so many men whom he calls "the martyrs of the doctrine of the world." In his eyes, the first condition of human happiness is perpetual contact with nature. Man must, like a plant, enjoy the sun, the fresh air, the spectacle of the earth.

"The victims of the world see nothing but stones and wood; they live in an artificial light; they hear nothing but the sound of machines, of guns, of instruments of music. They breathe distilled perfumes and the smoke of tobacco; they eat, thanks to their weak stomachs and depraved taste, unnatural aliments. When they go from one place to another they travel in close boxes. In the country, in foreign lands where they go, they always have under their feet the same tissues, the same stones; the same draperies hide from them the light of the sun. The same valets, coachmen, and porters intercept all communication with men, with the earth, with vegetation, with animals. As prisoners sometimes console themselves with a bit of grass which grows in the court of their prison, with a spider or a mouse, these people console themselves sometimes with faded plants, with a parrot, a pug dog, a monkey, which they cannot even feed themselves."

One of the conditions of happiness is work—not only intellectual work, but physical work also, which procures appetite and quiet sleep. A third condition is family life; the fourth is an affectionate intercourse with all men. Tolstoi tries to show that those who are sometimes called the "happy few" are deprived of all these elements of happiness, at least in great part. He would bring man back to a certain sort of Eden, where there would be a perfect simplicity, where man would be nearer nature, where each man would do some work with his own hands.

It is certainly singular that this tendency is common to all Russian writers. It springs from a sentiment of love for a great people only just emerging from a state of slavery; and at the same time from a great dislike of the old slave-masters, of the court, of the functionaries, of the men who look on the Russian people as a natural prey. Having to choose between the gilded functionary and the humble, they take the part of the muzhik. The more refined they are, the more they show their contempt for what is the object of the ambition of the upper class, living under the rule of the *tsar*. Ivan Turgeneff, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoi are all obeying the same tendency which we find already in Pushkin. Nobody, however, had hitherto tried to give to these vague sentiments the form of a religion. It remained for Tolstoi to do so. While we admire the generosity of his sentiments, we cannot but feel that he has placed his Eden in the world of fancy and of imagination. The world will never be what he dreams it to be; and it is not safe to present to nations an ideal which they cannot possibly attain. Many will find nothing in his 'Religion' but weapons against established governments and laws, and even against the rights of property.

Correspondence.

VANDALISM IN THE YOSEMITE REGION. TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have just returned from a visit to Yosemite Valley, and am anxious to call your attention to the fires which are raging and working untold damage in the surrounding forests. In their anxiety to grow food for their sheep while passing through these forests, the herdsmen have set light to the fallen trees and brushwood all over the hills, hoping that grass will

spring up in the spaces thus cleared, by another year. The flames, fanned by a gentle breeze and fed by an abundance of the dryest fuel, take everything before them, and spread ruin over many a hundred acre. In spite of notices advertising the penalties for wilful damage in the woods, fires have been lighted in the very midst of the Mariposa Big-Tree Grove, and the Grizzly Giant, one of Nature's most wonderful gifts to the people of the United States, has suffered severely.

Unless more care is taken of these beautiful trees, in a few years they will be known only to memory, and one of the most heavenly places on earth will be robbed of its charm.

Yours very sincerely,

CYRIL EDWARDS.

THE PALACE HOTEL, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.,
September 26, 1885.

THE DELIMITATION OF DELAWARE BAY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The reference of Professor Agassiz, in his recent letter on the Coast Survey, to the real value, even from a practical point of view, of good work of a highly theoretical kind, done by a scientific bureau, has a timely illustration in the way a controversy between the authorities of the States of Delaware and New Jersey has within a few weeks been adjusted by the adoption of the line from Cohansey Light to Bombay Hook Point, as the division line between Delaware River and Delaware Bay.

Professor Henry Mitchell, whose modest official title is that of Assistant in the Coast Survey, but who, in studies of tidal action, ranks with the foremost men of science, made in 1883 an elaborate report on "The E-tuary of the Delaware," based upon a new survey. When Mr. Stockton, the Attorney-General of New Jersey, submitted the question in dispute to Professor Hilgard, the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, Professor Hilgard referred the subject to Professor Mitchell, who promptly gave the line from Cohansey Light to Bombay Hook Point as the head of the bay. This decision, confirmed by the authority of Professor Hilgard, was communicated by Mr. Stockton to Mr. Paynter, the Attorney-General of Delaware, and was accepted by him as conclusive upon the point in controversy. Mr. Paynter, in his letter to Mr. Stockton, says:

"Like yourself, I regard the charts of the Coast Survey, or the opinions of officers and scientists connected with this branch of the Government service, as of the highest authority. The letters of Superintendent Hilgard and Professor Mitchell (copies of which you kindly furnished me) seem conclusive on the point; and their reasons are especially cogent, not only from the fact that they are founded on the formation of the banks and shores, as well as the bed of the waters, but also the fact of the opinions emanating from such distinguished gentlemen, who have made the estuary of the Delaware and of other rivers a special study, entitles them to the highest consideration."

W.
BOSTON, September 29, 1885.

THE ASTOR DECISION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Warren's letter in No. 1054 of the *Nation* (September 10), in regard to the tax he was made to pay on his professional books, touches a point on which large numbers of Americans feel immensely ashamed of their country. I have gone through customs examinations in England, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Italy, Greece, and Belgium, and all of these put together did not display the pettiness and meanness that we have to endure when we land in this rich and free country. I was in Europe at the time of the Astor decision, and supposed that this case would remove difficulties out of the way of people who have little or nothing to bring in.

I landed from the *Britannic* August 22, and declared to the officer on board that so far as I knew I had nothing dutiable; and I do not believe now that I had. But the examining official on the New York dock got hold of a remnant of three yards of silk, left over from the original twenty yards bought for a dress pattern, because the London dressmaker cut economically. According to the Astor decision, I do not see that any duty would have been rightly exacted, even if I had brought the twenty yards with me not made up at all. The appraiser was perfectly satisfied that I was a professor in an American college, and that the dress and remnant belonged to my wife, who was with me; and yet I had to pay a dollar a yard on the three yards of silk. Besides that, I had a few small mementos that I expected to give to friends; still, they all belonged to me, having been purchased with my money. I declared their value at about \$35, and paid about \$13 duty.

The matter is small in itself, but large in principle and application. Can you tell me (and many others) whether Mr. Warren and I were justly made to pay duty or not? The officials no doubt find the majority of their passengers in a great hurry, and so the latter can all the more easily be imposed on.

I venture to say that our picayune and contemptible method is breeding an increasing number of free-traders in the United States—and that's one consolation, at least.—Respectfully,

A. H.

POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS IN THE SOUTH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: If you can pardon further reference to postal savings banks, the writer would like to suggest a few facts which might not be out of place in that connection. It is admitted such banks have proved beneficial in other countries, but for some reason we have failed to properly appreciate their advantage at home. The cities and towns of our country have, in the majority of cases, private savings banks, but it is in the agricultural sections that some such system is needed. The North and West are much more advanced in banking facilities of every kind than the South, and it is the latter section especially that would unquestionably be benefited by postal savings banks. In the South, which is in the main an agricultural community, the towns are few and far between. The cross-road store, post-office, and blacksmith shop constitute the chief settlements one meets in a journey of ten or twenty miles, and as for a savings bank, fifty miles would be within the mark.

The argument might be made, that the establishment of banks should be left to private enterprise, and not depend upon public or Government aid. While this argument is true, it must be remembered that much of the Southern country has more than a moiety of negroes, who form such a weight in the public scale as to bear down much enterprise which should be expected from the population, all things being equal. The negro is in a state of advanced childhood, and lacks those qualities which are necessary to produce material advancement. He is extravagant and prodigal, and seems to have little idea of accumulation. Much of this is due to the fact that he has no opportunity presented to save his earnings. The writer was struck by the absence of such facilities, during a recent visit to a Southern agricultural section, and the necessity for some such plan as the one advocated at once suggested itself. The Southern people, however willing, are unable to afford these advantages, and need outside help in this, as in the matter of public education. The negro is here, and has come to stay. That he needs assistance, none deny. He is still dependent, and the best way to

help him to become independent is to advance his material condition. Wealth is a powerful agent to inspire respect, and savings banks exert no small influence in its accumulation. The negro needs more practical economy and less sentiment: having learned how to vote, he remains to be taught how to save.

The establishment of postal savings banks should be confined to non-Presidential offices, so that the usefulness of private savings banks should not be restricted. The townsman can take care of himself, but the country laborer needs assistance. The fear expressed that postal savings banks might strengthen the national Government is groundless. The trouble anticipated that such banks may become a burden when the national debt is extinguished, is a trouble that doubtless will be met when that time arrives. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

GEO. FREDERICK GEPHART.

BALTIMORE, MD., September 30, 1885.

INSURANCE OF BANK DEPOSITS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The idea of securing bank depositors against the loss of their deposits (editorially considered in *Nation*, No. 1057), is an excellent one. But, while allowing Mr. Flannagan great credit for bringing forward the subject, I believe the object can be attained in a better way than he proposes by a mutual deposit-insurance company, composed of such banking associations as would unite for the purpose. A premium of a certain percentage on average deposits would be paid by each bank desiring insurance. The investment of premiums, payment of losses and return dividends would be managed in much the same way as in a mutual fire-insurance company. The principal advantage of this method would be a more equitable division of losses, the premiums being based on deposits, the subject of the insurances, and not, as Mr. Flannagan proposes, on circulation, which has no relation whatever to the thing insured. Incidentally, other advantages would be obtained, as, for example, a thorough examination of the affairs of each insured bank at frequent intervals. The present system of Government inspection is notoriously insufficient, but an insurance company such as I have proposed would, for its own protection, establish the most thorough methods of inspection and audit that could be devised.

It may be urged as an objection to this plan that each bank would be at liberty to insure or not, as it preferred. This, to some extent, is true, but it is not a serious obstacle to the success of the plan, for the improved stability of the banks belonging to the insurance company would attract depositors so powerfully that all first-class banks would eventually be compelled in self-protection to offer the same security to their depositors; and the depositor would soon hold a bank that did not insure its deposits in much the same estimation that a merchant does a customer who carries no fire insurance on his property.

The plan I have suggested seems to me not only feasible, but equitable, simple, and comprehensive. Nevertheless, I do not offer it as conclusive, and I hope the subject, important as it is, will have such discussion as will evolve the best plan obtainable.

W. P. J.

PHILADELPHIA, October 1, 1885.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Aside from the questions as to its practicability discussed in your last number, the plan proposed by Mr. W. W. Flannagan for protecting the depositors in national banks, by converting the tax on bank circulation into a special fund for the payment of claims against failed banks, and subrogating the United States to all the rights of the creditors against the assets and the

liabilities of the shareholders, seems to be open to serious objection.

That the total amount of losses on claims against failed banks since the national banking system went into operation has been only \$9,524,553, is certainly due, in part, to the watchfulness of depositors, and their concern to place their money in the safest banks; but Mr. Flannagan's estimate of the amount that would be required, from the Government, under his plan, for the payment of these losses, seems to be based upon the erroneous supposition that depositors could be relieved from all concern and responsibility, and all apprehension regarding the safety of their money, without increasing the amount of losses.

The best plan for the protection of depositors against loss is the one which, by increasing the watchfulness of individual depositors, reduces that loss to a minimum, and distributes that minimum equitably among those who have enjoyed its protection. A plan for the liquidation of claims against suspended banks by a tax on deposits, levied for that purpose, would, by throwing the loss, not upon the Government, by reducing its revenues derived from the national banking system, but upon those who enjoy its protection, where it properly belongs, meet your objection to Mr. Flannagan's plan; and the distribution of this loss among the banks in proportion to the amount of their deposits, instead of the amount of their circulation, would remove the objection of banks which issue circulating notes to the adoption of the plan suggested by Mr. Flannagan. In consideration of the protection and security furnished by such a system, the additional tax would be as readily borne as the premium of insurance.—Very respectfully,

L. H. POOLE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 3, 1885.

PROHIBITION AND THE CONSTITUTION. TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: On Monday last there came up for hearing before Judge French, of the second circuit of the seventh judicial district of this State, a petition asking the removal to the Federal courts of certain liquor causes then pending, on the ground that questions were involved in these causes requiring a construction of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The following are extracts from the opinion rendered on the hearing:

"Our present prohibitory liquor law, as amended July 4, 1884, by the acts of the Twentieth General Assembly, prohibits the selling or keeping for sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, and also prohibits their sale for other purposes except by persons who have obtained special licenses for that purpose, and given the heavy bond required by law. Persons who have obtained such licenses are required to make reports to the proper authorities of their sales, and are placed under other restrictions. The mere possession of intoxicating liquors, by a person not having a license to sell, in his store or warehouse is made presumptive evidence of guilt on his part. The keeping of liquors for sale makes the building where it is sold and the furniture, fixtures, vessels, and contents used in business a nuisance. Suit in equity may be brought by any citizen of the county to have the nuisance abated and to enjoin the defendant from continuing it. To abate the nuisance the furniture, fixtures, and liquors used for the purpose prohibited by statute might be destroyed, or sold to pay the expenses of abating the nuisance. No distinction is made between ale, wine, and beer and furniture and fixtures in use in the sale of the same which were owned and were lawful property prior to July 4, 1884, and ale, wine, beer, furniture, and fixtures which have been made or brought into the State since that time. The abatement of the alleged nuisance maintained by the defendant through the medium of this suit will cause the destruction of what was lawful property and owned by him prior to July 4, 1884, as well as what was illegal property prior to that time; and the injunction will with equal force

prevent the sale of either kind of property. No distinction is made in the statute between the two kinds of property, and none is made by the plaintiff's petition.

"Under a similar statute in New York it was adjudged that such a statute was in violation of the constitutional inhibition against taking property without due process of law, because it made no distinction between property owned prior to the enactment and property manufactured or brought into the State subsequently (Wynehamer vs. People, 13 N. Y., 391)."

After citing the further cases of Bartemeyer vs. Iowa (18 Wall., 129), and Beer Co. vs. Massachusetts (97 U. S., 25), the opinion concludes by ordering each of the aforesaid causes, in which the amount in controversy exceeded \$500, to be transferred to the Federal courts.

In a contribution to the *Nation* (vol. xxxviii, p. 381) made by the writer over a year ago, attention is called to the point here decided and to the authorities on which the decision is based. A good defence under these authorities can certainly be made to any prosecutions by which rights of property in liquors, acquired before the prohibitory law was passed, are sought to be destroyed. Indeed, by slight diligence on the part of the liquor-dealers, the entire question of the constitutionality of this law might have been brought before the Supreme Court of the United States months since, and a decision made sure of which would forever set at rest many vexed questions of property rights as affected by the police power. This power is confessedly a great one, but it has limits. What these limits are, moreover, in the case of vested property rights, is, it would seem, sufficiently certain. Bartemeyer vs. Iowa and Beer Company vs. Massachusetts, both emphatically reassert the familiar principle that vested rights of property cannot be destroyed without due compensation for losses to be entailed thereby first being made. Nor is there the least danger in this principle to the sovereignty of the State or to the public safety. For what possible traffic is there which, under and by virtue of this principle, cannot be suppressed at once, on the making of due compensation?

But it may be said, the Supreme Court of the United States, in the recent cases of Boyd vs. Alabama (94 U. S., 645) and Fertilizing Company vs. Hyde Park (97 U. S., 659) have held that the police power may be so exercised as to impair the obligation of a contract, and still not be unconstitutionally exercised. True, but mark the reason for this holding. If the police power were never, under any circumstances, permitted to impair the obligation of a contract, then, under some contract so providing, a certain line of business could be carried on for twenty, fifty, or a hundred years. And this line of business could thus be carried on in spite of the fact that it had become an insupportable nuisance to the entire community round about. It could not be stopped short of the expiration of the time named in the contract. To hold, therefore, that the obligation of a contract can never be impaired by the police power would be to violate right reason and public policy. But, under the principle that vested property rights cannot be destroyed without due compensation first being made, any traffic or line of business which has become a nuisance can be stopped instantly, and the rights of both the individual and the public still preserved. For, to the individual whose business is destroyed, compensation is made; and from the public the burden of a nuisance is lifted.

That there is force in this distinction may be seen from the fact that, in Beer Company vs. Massachusetts, the court, while sustaining the constitutionality of a law prohibiting the sale of malt liquors by the Boston Beer Company in the State of Massachusetts, despite an unexpired charter granted to said company by the State, authorizing them to manufacture such liquors

in all their varieties—the court, we say, while sustaining this prohibitory law, are careful to add:

"We do not mean to say that property actually in existence, and in which the right of the owner has become vested, may be taken for the public good without due compensation. But we infer that the liquor in this case, as in the case of Bartemeyer vs. Iowa, was not in existence when the liquor law of Massachusetts was passed. Had the plaintiff in error relied on the existence of the property prior to the law, it behooved it to show that fact. But no such fact is shown, and no such point is taken."

IRVING B. RICHMAN.

MUSCATINE, IOWA, September 13, 1885.

Notes.

THE Century Company have in preparation 'The Art of Pheilius,' by Dr. Charles Waldstein.

E. & J. B. Young & Co. announce 'Church Life in Colonial Maryland,' by the Rev. Theodore C. Gambrell; and 'Tiles from Dame Marjorie's Chimney-Corner, and China from her Cupboard,' by F. S. J. Burne and H. J. A. Miles, illustrated.

Charles Scribner's Sons will be the American publishers of Mr. J. C. Rodriguez's collected articles on the Panama Canal, which recently appeared in the London *Financial News*, and attracted much attention from their evident mastery of the subject, and the highly unfavorable conclusions drawn from the mass of statistics presented. The same firm will issue 'The Greek Archipelago, with a Look at Turkey after the War,' by the Rev. Henry M. Field. Their *Book-buyer* states that Mr. Hamilton W. Mabie, of the *Christian Union*, will write the authorized Life of the late Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson. The October number of this periodical, by the way, begins a series of carefully engraved portraits of American authors with Mr. R. H. Stoddard's, 'Mr. Cable's is to follow next month. These portraits are supplementary, and are printed on plate paper.

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, announce a 'Select Bibliography of Ecclesiastical History,' by John Alonzo Fisher, of Johns Hopkins University.

Ticknor & Co.'s list includes the following works: 'English Home Life,' by the Rev. Robert Laird Collier; 'Japanese Homes and their Surroundings,' by Prof. Edward S. Morse; 'The Olden-Time Series,' compiled by Henry M. Brooks; and 'An American Woman's Life and Work,' a memorial of the late Mary Clemmer, by Edmund Hudson.

A new work entitled 'Natural Theology, or Rational Theism,' from the pen of Dr. M. Valentine, ex-President of Pennsylvania College, is promised by Messrs. S. C. Griggs & Co., to be ready in October. The fifth volume of the series of "Griggs's Philosophical Classics" will be 'Hegel's Logic,' by Dr. W. T. Harris, of the Concord School of Philosophy. It is expected to be in the hands of the printers in October.

The following are additional announcements of G. P. Putnam's Sons: 'Railroad Transportation, Its History and Its Laws,' by Arthur T. Hadley, Commissioner of Labor Statistics for the State of Connecticut, and Instructor in Yale College; 'Evolution of To-day,' a summary of the Theory of Evolution as held by modern scientists, by H. W. Conn; 'Postulates of English Political Economy,' by the late Walter Bagehot, with introduction by Professor Marshall, of Cambridge, England; 'Problems in Philosophy,' by John Bascom, President of the University of Wisconsin; 'Poetry as a Representative Art,' by Prof. George Z. Raymond, of the College of New Jersey; 'Lincoln and Stanton: A Study of the War Administration of 1863,' by William D. Kelley; 'The Origin of the Republican Form

of Government in the United States of America,' by Oscar S. Straus; 'Inquiendo Island: The Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery.'

George J. Coombes will shortly publish a volume entitled 'After-Dinner Stories from Balzac, Done into English by Myndart Verelst, with an introduction by Edgar Everson Saltus, author of "The Philosophy of Dis-enchantment," etc.'

Two little books sure to be sought after are the facsimiles of George Herbert's 'Temple,' after a unique copy of the first (undated) impression in 1633; and of Walton's 'Complete Angler,' after the first edition of 1653. The quaint embossed binding in brown and white patterns at once distinguishes these books as antique. The facsimile must be understood as an imitative resetting, supplemented in the case of certain types and ornamental pieces by photographic reproductions. In both cases the result is very successful. Mr. Grosart furnishes a brief introduction to Herbert; but a better one is Walton's own in the companion volume. The American publishers are Baker & Taylor.

White, Stokes & Allen issue what they call a Favorite Edition of Fielding's Novels, in four volumes. The external appearance is slightly enough, and the typography is good; but a dearer price would have to be asked for better paper and a clearer impression.

The second series of 'The Good Things of Life' (White, Stokes & Allen) has a very even excellence. Mr. F. G. Attwood's designs, as usual, supply the humor which needs no legend.

J. T. Headley's 'Mountain Adventures,' Flammarton's 'Wonders of the Heavens,' and Viardot's 'Wonders of Sculpture,' all illustrated, are the new issues of the cheap edition of the "Wonders" series (Scribners).

We are glad to observe that a second edition of that well-conceived little politico-economic textbook, 'Lessons on Practical Subjects for Grammar-School Children' (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.) has been called for.

The appendix to the new edition of the late Mrs. Helen Jackson's 'Century of Dishonor' (Boston: Roberts Bros.) is numbered xv, and consists of the report made by the author and by Abbot Kinney, acting as special agents under the authority of the Indian Commissioner, on the condition and need of the Mission Indians of California. It bears date July 13, 1885, and possesses, besides its intrinsic importance, a special interest as the direct fruit of the work, first published in 1881, of which it now forms a part.

Mr. Clarence Deming's 'By-Ways of Nature and Life' has very properly been reissued by the Messrs. Putnam as part of their "Traveller's Series." The chapter on the "Zoo" and Jumbo is timely.

Carl Schoenhof, of Boston, has just published a volume that will be welcome to French instructors not only in scientific schools but in colleges generally. 'French Prose of Popular Science and Descriptive Literature,' edited and annotated by Prof. Jules Luquiens, of the Institute of Technology, is a collection of eleven long extracts from the best authors. Each extract is complete in itself, so that the volume has nothing of the fragmentary character of a Reader. Prof. Luquiens has added about eighty pages of notes, short, clear, and to the purpose.

In spite of the very laudatory article in the *Revue Critique* upon the 'Grammaire élémentaire de la vieille langue française' by L. Clédar (Paris: Garnier; Boston: Schoenhof), the book is not quite what it should be. It is elementary to a puerile degree for any one who would think of studying Old French, and very disappointing when it tries to give the results of modern scholarship. But it is better than Brachet's 'Grammaire historique,' and until an historical French grammar that deserves the name is published, it

is the best guide that a beginner can find for the study of Old French.

Every admirer of Heine knows how unconscionably dear his works are. The copyright on these expires in January next, and doubtless many a German publisher has laid his plans to bring out a cheap edition by that date. Meantime Hoffman & Campe, of Hamburg, are shrewdly forestalling this movement by issuing a cheap "library edition" in twelve volumes 12mo, cloth. The first is the favorite 'Buch der Lieder' (New York: Westermann). The type is large enough, and the paper a dull white—conditions favorable for reading by lamplight.

The second of the "Military Monographs" published for the Military Service Institution by G. P. Putnam's Sons is entitled, 'Killed by a Brother Soldier,' the subject of General J. B. Fry's narrative being the shooting of General Nelson by General Davis at Louisville in 1862. The *Journal* of the above-named Institution for September has for its most interesting paper "Some Glances Backward," by Captain Edward Field, who also gives a glance forward, and makes a suggestion which some magazine editor might profit by: that the great "Indian fighters" yet living should be got to record their experience in battle with every variety of tribe and under all sorts of conditions, for the benefit of officers and men who may hereafter be involved in like conflicts. In Colburn's *United Service Magazine* for April, May, and August, Mr. H. Y. Powell has articles on our Naval War of 1812, based on Jam's and Cooper's histories, "with various fresh particulars from British and American authorities not hitherto collected."

Mr. G. Brown Goode's "Biography of the Halibut" in the October *American Naturalist* is very good reading, and contains much curious information about a fish whose extinction on this coast at no distant day is confidently predicted. We remark also Dr. W. Matthews's "Mystic Dry-Paintings of the Navajos"—unique sand pictures, made after traditional patterns, and destroyed as soon as completed; and Mr. John T. Campbell's "Traces of Prehistoric Man on the Wabash."

Prof. David P. Todd's account of the Lick Observatory in California, with illustrations, has been reprinted from *Science* of September 4.

Not long since we noticed in these columns the drawing of a typical coral atoll which serves as a frontispiece to the Report of the United States Solar Eclipse Expedition to the South Pacific Ocean (*Nation*, March 23, 1885, p. 261), and spoke of its excellence. Independent testimony to this is at hand in the letter of a gentleman long resident in Tahiti, who has just received the publication in question. He says: "You will allow me, as one who has spent so many years in the Islands, to express my delight at the life-like picture which is given of a coral atoll." Since atolls are so common and have been so much visited, it is somewhat strange that we have had to wait till now for adequate pictures of them.

India and Scotland were the subjects which received the most attention in the Geographical Section of the British Association at its late meeting in Aberdeen. The opening address of the President, Gen. J. T. Walker, was an account of the Indian Survey, of which he was for many years the head. This survey has for its end far more than the collection of mere scientific information, as was shown by Colonel Barron's paper on the "Cadastral Survey." In addition to mapping the areas of villages and fields on a scale of sixteen inches to a mile, it defines the rights and gives the castes of landlords and tenants for each field. It also collects information regarding the rents paid, the crops grown, the nature of the soil, and the means of irrigation. A year's work ranges from 650 to 800

square miles, comprising sometimes over a million of fields. Mr. Everard im Thurn gave an interesting account of Mt. Roraima in Brazil, which, previous to his ascent last December, was deemed inaccessible except by balloon. On reaching the summit he seemed to be entering a "gallery of countless vast stone monsters," the result apparently of the action of water in wearing away the surface of the rock. The Indians term it, with as much truth as poetry, "the ever fruitful mother of streams," for, "starting with a wonderful leap of 2,000 feet down over its cliff, were streams which flowed in various directions to swell with no inconsiderable contribution of water the Orinoco, the Essequibo, and the Amazon, the three chief river systems which water the greater part of the Atlantic side of the continent of South America." Among other subjects treated were recent explorations of New Guinea, an Antarctic expedition, and "Geographical Education."

—The *Century*, in closing its very successful fifteenth year with the October number, announces a continuation of its War Papers, serial fiction by Mrs. Foote, Howells, and Cable, and serial articles upon Christian Unity, Sideral Astronomy, and Manual Education, besides the usual repertory of travel sketches, short stories, and miscellanies. The present number has a continuation of the rather dry account of the partially unexplored River Yukon in Alaska, and a sketch of the growth of independent journalism as it was illustrated by the career of Samuel Bowles. Mr. Howells takes us with too much haste through Pisa, Lucca, Pistoja, Prato, and Fiesole. The topic of leading interest, however, is General Grant, regarding whom there are four articles and two poems and some "Memoranda." The military papers, in fact, all relate to General Grant, and are by writers who, at one time or another, were members of his personal staff. The article upon the Riverside Park also, though written before the selection of the burial-place, adds to the memorial character of this issue of the magazine. General Badeau gives a connected account of the closing period of Grant's life from the time of the accident which lamed him, with full details of the subsequent sufferings from the fatal disease in his throat. He also tells the story of the Grant & Ward bankruptcy, and its terrible effect upon the sensibilities and the vital forces of the General. Considering the delicacy of the subject, it is high praise to say that its handling is judicious and skilful. The articles by Generals Porter and Wilson are more directly connected with the war period of the General's life. Perhaps no two persons would in such cases agree in drawing the line between what is to be said and what omitted, but in General Wilson's article we should feel like objecting to the taste of the opening story of General Sherman, and would decidedly protest against the probable accuracy of the closing one in regard to Mr. Lincoln. The "Memoranda" contain General Buell's categorical denial of the accuracy of the story, often told, of his asking Grant at Shiloh if he had considered the means of retreat, and of the latter's reply. A daughter of General Heintzelman produces letters of her father showing that in the retreat from the positions on the Chickahominy after the battle of Gaines's Mill, he regarded himself as acting strictly in accordance with the letter and spirit of orders received by him, and was confident, also, that his movement was in itself right. The new evidence incidentally brought out in the "Memoranda" from time to time is no small addition to the value of the War Papers as a series.

—Apropos of a recent criticism on Mr. Howells by a correspondent in these columns,

Mr. J. F. Kelly writes us from London as follows:

"The MS. of Leopardi's unpublished translation of, and commentary on, Porphyry's 'Life of Plotinus' is in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence. It is entitled: 'Porphyrii de Vita Plotini et ordine librorum ejus Commentarius Græce et Latine, ex versione Marsili Ficini emendata. Græca illustravit et Latina emendavit Jacobus Leopardi' (1814). F. Cruzet has made use of it in the 'Addenda et Corrigenda' (vol. iii, pp. 499-502) to his edition of Plotinus (Oxford, 1835). Those of your readers who are interested in Leopardi's philosophical ideas should not fail to read M. F. A. Aulard's 'Essai sur les idées philosophiques et l'inspiration poétique de Giacomo Leopardi' (Paris, 1877)."

—More and more self-assertion is showing itself in the French of Canada. A fresh illustration just now comes to hand in a pamphlet of twenty-six pages on 'La Situation de la Langue Française au Canada.' The author is Benjamin Sulte, of Ottawa, descended from ancestors famous under the old régime, and well known by various works on Canadian annals. In his volume on Three Rivers, 'Chronique Trifluvienne,' he was the first to prove that the discovery of Wisconsin by Jean Nicolet must have been as early as 1635. This last brochure was suggested in conversation with journalists visiting him from France. Sulte, believing with Burke that language, while lighter than air, is yet a bond stronger than iron, holds that the French ought to be guarded by every Canadian as the apple of his eye. He calls it a sentinel over a sleeping host, so that if he perishes they are likely to fall with him. He tells the story of Canadian struggles, not without success, to prevent English from being declared the official language, or from having any superiority in legislature or in courts. He claims that, Canadian literati surpassing their conquerors as the Greeks did the Romans, the literature of the New Dominion is French, not English. Citing sundry prophecies downward from 1760, that the French language, as that of an inferior race, must die out of Canada, he points with pride to a population of 1,800,000 French-speaking people in British America and the United States. A language that has thriven so well among domineering conquerors who would gladly have blotted it out, M. Sulte is sanguine his compatriots will never let die. But his main contention is that it deserves to survive no less than any other dialect whatever of all those which arose from the ruins of Roman Gaul. In its basis Norman, this idiom was eclectic from the peculiarities of other Canadian colonists, very much as a composite photograph combines the effects of a dozen portraits. It was the French as it flourished in the age of Louis XIV. This speech, taught to the *habitans* by well-cultured priests, monks, nuns, officials, and adventurers, has come down intact to the present day, and is homogeneous from New Orleans to Gaspé and Manitoba. It is purer French than the Parisian, for it is smutted with no argot. It is deformed by no Breton or Gascon provincialisms. It has fewer Anglicisms than prevail in France itself.

—M. Sulte brings forward La Potherie, Charlevoix, Le Clerc, and many other witnesses to support his views. Noteworthy is this testimony from the Abbé d'Olivet: "On peut envoyer un opéra en Canada, et il sera chanté à Québec note pour note et sur le même ton qu'à Paris, mais on ne saurait envoyer une phrase de conversation à Bordeaux et à Montpellier et faire qu'elle y soit prononcée syllabe par syllabe comme à Paris." M. Sulte exists in French still holding its own as the cosmopolitan dialect of diplomacy, and alludes to Bismarck addressing an official note to the Czar in German, and receiving an answer written in Tartar. On the whole he comes to the self-satisfying conclusion that Canada is more French than France, and its vocabulary much superior to a Parisian's. In the

matter of accent, however, M. Sulte confesses a decided Canadian peculiarity. But he reminds us that Paris, and every French province as well, has an accent of its own, and he claims the same right for the American French. Yet while arguing that the Canadian accent, so far as not taught by English teachers, is no great remove from the ideal of the French Theatre in the seventeenth century, he concedes that it is monotonous, and so lacks the sprightliness of old France. All in all, he pronounces American French no patois or jargon, as slanderously reported, but a better copy of the European than the Yankee dialect is of English, and hence a speech no Frenchman can blush for as John Bull must for the eccentricities of slang in his American cousins.

—The 'Statistische Handbuch für Elsass-Lothringen,' just published by the Statistical Bureau of the Reichsland Ministry, offers an instructive insight into the changing nationality relations of that interesting division of the German Empire. Of the communes of the whole territory, 72 per cent. belong to the area of the German language, 22 per cent. to that of the French, and 4 per cent. to the mixed (fractions omitted). But of the three districts, Lower Alsace has almost exclusively German communes, Upper Alsace a very large proportion of such, but Lorraine somewhat less than half. Counting the population, however, without regard to communities, even in Lorraine the German element strongly preponderates. Immigration and emigration effect here striking changes. In 1871-75 the total population of the Reichsland was reduced from 1,517,000 to 1,499,000, owing to a heavy French exodus, from patriotic motives; in 1876-80 it rose to nearly 1,528,000, immigration from Germany more than compensating for the loss from emigration. The largest loss was in youths approaching the age at which they would be liable to military conscription. Emigration and immigration affected most strongly the capital of the Reichsland, Strassburg, the latter exceeding the former by 10,000. The emigrants were mainly Catholics, the immigrants mainly Protestants. In Lorraine the Protestant population, numbering only 13,000 in 1871, had doubled in 1880. The number of Jews was slightly decreasing. In the public schools the Protestants were represented in proportions far exceeding their numbers. Although in 1880 they did not comprise quite one-fifth of the total population, they were nearly as 2 to 3 in the higher schools. Immigrant pupils were there almost exactly half as numerous as native Alsace-Lorrainers. This extraordinary disproportion is owing in part to the very frequent sending of French boys to schools in France. As probably the most promising boys are sent to French institutions, this circumstance also explains in part the inferior standing of the native, and chiefly of the Catholic, pupils in their respective classes. In the periodical press of the Reichsland, the German and French elements appear in more natural proportions to the population. Of 118 periodical publications, 68 appeared in German, 25 in French, and 25 in both languages. Only 30 antedated the German conquest.

—In Prof. A. E. J. Modderman, whose death was recently announced, Holland loses her most eminent criminalist and most popular statesman. Professor Modderman's life was almost entirely devoted to the reform of Dutch criminal law, which, till a short time ago, was based, in the main, on the Code Napoléon. His thesis, on taking his degree, demonstrating the necessity of a national penal code, attracted so much notice that shortly afterwards he was appointed professor of criminal law, first at Amsterdam and then at Leyden. In 1870 he was also made

secretary of the committee appointed to carry out his idea of a national code. When in 1879 the Cabinet d'affaires under the premiership of Van Lynden was formed, the portfolio of Justice was offered to Modderman and accepted by him, principally in order to defend before the Legislature the code drafted by the committee of which he had been the most active member. When a comprehensive work of this kind is submitted to an assembly of which the majority are lawyers, it happens but too often that the unity and system of it are destroyed by the abuse of the right of amendment; but Modderman's personal magnetism was such that he carried the Code through without any important change. The new Code gave a great extension to the system of solitary confinement: it was therefore necessary to defer its going into effect till the new prisons should be built, and also till the other Codes were modified, so as to be in harmony with the new provisions as to criminal law. But unfortunately the ministry fell shortly afterwards, party strife broke out with new force, the work of legislation was stopped, and the new Code has not yet been tested by actual experience, although the prospects are now that it will go into effect within a short time. By all competent judges, not only in Holland but in France, Germany, and Italy, it is conceded to be, both on account of its systematic arrangement and especially on account of its clearness of expression, one of the most remarkable enactments of modern times. Only a few months ago Professor Modderman was appointed a judge of the Court of Appeals, and if he had been spared, he would have had the crowning satisfaction of applying and interpreting the work which he might justly have called his own.

GARRISON.

William Lloyd Garrison. 1805-1879. The Story of his Life. Told by his Children. Vol. I.—1805-1835. Vol. II.—1835-1840. The Century Company. 1885. 8vo, pp. 522, 480.

A MUCH-ABUSED rather than much-discussed character stands here thrown freely open for inspection. The orthodox clergy, who have had most to do in blackening it, have made their censure retroactive, covering with their *odium theologum* the whole of a career which only in its later stages united them in professional opposition. This biography, tracing the ancestry, boyhood, training, and adult development of Mr. Garrison in strict chronological progression to the close of his thirty-fifth year—with a wealth of documentary evidence, much of which has never before been published—now for the first time enables the man to be seen in his true light. In so doing, it unavoidably relates the history of the anti-slavery movement of which he was the founder. All his prominent associates figure on the scene and speak in their own persons. One finds cited, more or less *in extenso*, manuscript letters from Gamaliel Bailey, the Benson brothers, George Bourne, James Boyle, Arnold Buffum, Charles C. Burleigh, Maria Weston Chapman, David Lee and Lydia Maria Child, John A. Collins, Abraham L. Cox, Prudence Crandall, Samuel Fessenden, James Forten, James S. Gibbons, William Goodell, Angelina and Sarah Grimké, Robert B. Hall, Francis Jackson, James C. Jackson, Simeon S. Jocelyn, Oliver Johnson, Abby Kelley, John Kenrick, Isaac Knapp, Ellis Gray Loring, Samuel May, Samuel J. May, Lucretia Mott, Orson S. Murray, Amos A. Phelps, Wendell Phillips, Robert Purvis, Edmund Quincy, N. P. Rogers, Samuel E. Sewall, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, Anne Warren Weston, J. G. Whittier, Nathan Winslow, Elizur Wright, and Henry C. Wright. Add Mr. Garrison's British condutors—W. H. Ashurst, John Bowring, Thomas Fowell Buxton, James Cropper, Elizabeth Pease, Charles Stuart,

George Thompson, and Richard D. Webb—whose inedited letters have likewise been used for this biography—and still we have not half enumerated the *dramatis persone*; nor all of the most important, for the manuscript collection available was a chance-medley, no man having done less, systematically, to pave the way for his biographer than Mr. Garrison. His own letters are naturally very numerous, and, being largely quoted along with his speeches and his articles in the several newspapers which he edited, afford an opportunity of comparing his public with his private utterances. The consistency of these is unmistakable, and together they illustrate most strikingly the *measure* of his language.

This language was, from the outset of his anti-slavery career, condemned for its "harshness," but it was always scrupulously weighed and adapted, and therein lay its effectiveness, since it could not be confounded with mere abuse. The charge is again and again met in these pages by Mr. Garrison himself, and it is made clear that the real ground of offence—in him as well as in his colleagues, not a few of whom easily surpassed him in "harshness"—was the abolition doctrine, and not the phraseology with which it was advocated. Deaf ears did not wish to hear the truth about the national sin and the national danger. His voice reached them as no other had done, even when, as in the case of Bourne, the harshness was greater and the doctrine of immediate emancipation the same. "I will be heard," said the editor of the *Liberator* in his salutatory, and he was heard: the means were conformable to the end. Before him, as John Quincy Adams recorded in 1820, there was "a great mass of cool judgment and of plain sense on the side of freedom and humanity, but the ardent spirits and passions [were] on the side of oppression." In Mr. Garrison these qualities were united, while his speech remained truly dispassionate.

We have a test of this in the curious paradoxes that, as persecution increased and involved his own person, he was led the more speedily to the doctrine of Christian non-resistance; and as the churches and the clergy grew more and more openly pro-slavery, he was drawn more irresistibly than ever to the study of the Bible. This ended (toward the close of the present narrative) in his embracing "Perfectionism," as others called it, or "practical holiness," as he termed it—"the doctrine that total abstinence from sin in this life is not only commanded but necessarily obtainable." It was the outgrowth of his reflections on the subject of peace as enforced in the New Testament, and it exacted a total separation of himself from all existing human governments, as being transient institutions based on violence, and destined to disappear on the coming of Christ's kingdom. Whatever may be thought of this doctrine as a working one in our world, it was drawn from the Bible, and was modelled upon the character and teachings of Jesus. In other words, it was a Bible heresy, not an "infidel" one. So was Mr. Garrison's view of the supersession of the Jewish Sabbath, which agreed with Luther's and Tyndale's, though far less rudely expressed. His formula of duty in this regard was "to keep not one in seven, but all days holy."

These heresies, nevertheless, became grounds of division (culminating in 1840) between himself and the clergy and the sectarians, both anti-slavery and pro-slavery; and the breach was completed by a third scandalous mistake in exercising the Protestant right of private interpretation of the Scriptures: Mr. Garrison refused to oppose the speaking of women in public. It seems laughable now, but the feeling excited by the anti-slavery lecturing of the Grimké sisters begot a sham clerical anti-slavery organization in rivalry of the old, which had remained faithful to

Mr. Garrison. The controversy marks the beginning of the woman's-rights agitation in this country, and in it also the Liberty Party had one of its roots. The true history of the rise of this political organization will be sought in vain outside of these volumes. The reader will judge whether to have had a hand in laying its foundations is matter for boasting, and whether Mr. Garrison's active opposition to its inception was unnatural, short-sighted, or unjustified by the result.

More searchingly than any similar work, this biography serves as a touchstone to reputations that have been labelled and catalogued and placed upon the shelf. The greatest is liable to be recalled and tried anew by the question, Which side did this man take in the vital conflict between slavery and freedom? A conspicuous example is furnished by Harrison Gray Otis, once a Senator of the United States, a most admired orator, a member of the Hartford Convention, finally, Mayor of Boston. Perhaps, all told, there is more of him in these pages than can be found in any other one place, and upon it posterity is as likely to make up its final judgment of him as upon any other source. Yet he could see nothing in the *Liberator* office but "an obscure hole," and took the lead in that Faneuil Hall meeting for discountenancing the Abolitionists which engendered "the Boston mob" *par excellence* of October 21, 1835. Mayor Lyman, too, a Boston citizen of the best type, with many local claims to remembrance, will probably owe his fame, for better or worse, to the exhaustive account of the mobbing of Mr. Garrison during his term of office, as given in the work before us. The same event is made to cast a side-light even upon Channing's character, and indeed the relations of this divine to the editor of the *Liberator* and the anti-slavery organization will surprise many of his traditional admirers. That downright opponents like Dr. Wayland and Dr. Leonard Bacon fare still more badly at the hands of the documents here mustered, was to be expected.

Next after the Boston mob, the fiftieth anniversary of which is close at hand, the episode of the founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833 will probably most fix the attention. But, in truth, there was no important gathering or occasion in the period under review from which Mr. Garrison was absent, or concerning which he has not left some description in his familiar correspondence. Thus, we do not know where there exists so full a report of the memorable meeting of the "Seventy Agents" in New York in November, 1836. The burning of Pennsylvania Hall in 1838 is similarly narrated at first hand, while numerous autograph letters epitomize the London World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840. A special interest attaches to incidents which are not absolutely new to print, though practically out of sight. Such are the interviews with Wilberforce and Clarkson in England, and with Harriet Martineau in this country; the sittings to the painter Haydon in London; the "temptation" of Garrison by Aaron Burr. When one has turned the thousandth page of the ever-changing story, it seems as if the hero of it were long past his prime. The running-title, however, allots, as we have said, but thirty-five years to the play upon which the curtain drops. More of life has seldom been compressed into so brief a span.

The typography of these handsome volumes, from the De Vinne Press, is beyond praise. The notes and references are abundant if not superabundant. There is a minute index of forty pages. Scattered through the chapters are portraits of Mr. Garrison and his nearest friends, and sundry facsimiles, by which the reader is helped into the very spirit of

the time. Among the portraits, which number no less than twenty, and have been engraved (many for the first time) by the best artists of the *Century*, we remark those of Benjamin Lundy, Arthur Tappan, Arnold Buffum, Isaac Knapp, Oliver Johnson, S. E. Sewall, E. G. Loring, S. J. May, Wendell Phillips, Theodore D. Weld, Francis Jackson, George Thompson, Charles Follen, Prudence Crandall, the Grimké sisters, Abby Kelley, Mrs. M. W. Chapman, etc. The whole work is a key to the files of the *Liberator* and to the contemporary anti-slavery literature, including the manuscript sources, which it is announced will be deposited with the Boston Public Library in perpetuity.

MARTINEAU'S TYPES OF ETHICAL THEORY.

Types of Ethical Theory. By James Martineau, D.D., LL.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. 2 vols., 8vo. Vol. I., pp. xxiv + 479; Vol. II., pp. viii + 539.

ONE must speak hesitatingly about the historical importance of a new book; and yet we should not wonder if, in the end, Doctor Martineau's present work were to come nearer than any other English ethical treatise so far published in this age, to filling a place beside the standard English ethical discussions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Surely, at all events, this book, viewed with reference to the needs of its own time, reminds us, despite its diffuseness and its lack of literary unity, of the kind of work that was for their own times done by Hobbes or Shaftesbury or Smith or Butler. And this we say without meaning thereby to express our own agreement with Doctor Martineau's doctrine, any more than we intend to express agreement with Hobbes or with Shaftesbury or Smith or Butler. Our judgment is for the first a purely formal judgment, based on the quality of the work done. Of the doctrine we shall speak further very soon. But at all events the book is, in every respect save one, abreast with the learning of its time. This one great lack lies in the direction of a closer knowledge of modern German thought, and few ethical writers could better dispense with this knowledge than Doctor Martineau. The defect is, even for him, however, serious; yet in compensation therefor we have a very wide range of historical study and appreciation, a definite and significant positive doctrine, and an enthusiastic affection for human nature. These are enough to constitute a more considerable contribution to philosophical ethics than this generation in English thought has so far otherwise known.

In a literary point of view, the book plainly suffers from its origin in the author's lectures. It suffers yet more, artistically, from the author's naturally genial and infinitely diffuse flow of learned discourse. His estate is wide, full of winding roads, of pleasant views, of gardens and of thickets. He has certain fine outlooks, certain especially beautiful meadow-lands and mountain summits that he wants you to see. So he takes you to them; but first, by the way, numberless paths open, and must be followed here and there, to show you whither they lead. At last the heights are reached and the views seen; but then you must be taken home again by another road, through more groves and thickets. When you are done you know not exactly why just this route has been followed; and your guide, confident that you have been at all events well instructed, refuses to give you any further explanation, save that he has willed it so, and likes that road best himself.

By this figure we may express the impression produced by the curious and original arrangement of this work, and by the fact that you can

and such things as biographical details about Spinoza or Comte, philological excursions concerning Plato, an exposition of the Cartesian physics, and numerous other irrelevant outbursts of ardent scholarship, scattered all through what aims to be a united argument concerning the difference between right and wrong. Yet Doctor Martineau is never pedantic, and never quite garrulous. You hear much from him, and the effect is, at worst, still good. As for the mentioned curious arrangement, the author begins with an historical sketch of certain selected "non-psychological theories" of ethics. These theories, such as Plato's, Spinoza's, or Comte's, seek for the origin and truth of moral distinctions in the world without, and then bring into man's nature the moral law thus physically deduced. They are in so far all alike wrong; for, according to Doctor Martineau, the moral law is only to be spiritually discerned—that is, the true theory must be "psychological," and so must first find the moral distinctions in man's own mind and nowhere else. But when you resolve to get your moral doctrine psychologically, your troubles are not done. For you may still get, by mistake, not an "idiopsychological" ethical theory, as Doctor Martineau's terminology runs, but an "heteropsychological" theory. And that would be disastrous. For only "idiopsychological" ethics, seeking the origin of the moral distinctions in a moral faculty proper, *i. e.*, in Conscience, can satisfy the conditions. "Heteropsychological" ethics may hunt for the moral nature in the love of pleasure, or in the abstract reason, or, with Shaftesbury, in an æsthetic sense of the fitness of things. But such a search is one for a false unity. The Conscience can be reduced to nothing simpler than itself. Conscience proper Doctor Martineau treats at the opening of his second volume, thus discussing the "idiopsychological" theory in between the "non-psychological" theories, set aside in the first volume, and the "heteropsychological" theories, whose refutation concludes his work. The truth is thus sandwiched between two generous layers of error, and so this philosophical titbit is prepared.

Conscience, however, is an old friend in ethics. The theory of Doctor Martineau is made in the fear of old objections, and is a revised version of Butler's doctrine. Conscience for him is not merely a storehouse of dogmatic moral maxims, but a perceptive faculty. And what it perceives is the existence of a graded moral scale of active principles, *i. e.*, "incentives" or "springs" of action, in our nature. In this scale we perceive a regular series, from lowest "dispositions" or "springs of action," through the higher to the highest. In estimating conduct, our conscience applies itself, not to our acts directly, nor to their consequences as such, but to their incentives. The incentives once graded, an act is good in proportion as, in presence of any lower incentive, it involves a choice of a higher. And so, in general, our lives ought to express our higher rather than our lower springs of action. Yet the lower cannot be wholly excluded. The judgments of conscience are thus not passed upon the consequences of the acts as such. Yet, by a process that Doctor Martineau does not make very clear, the computation of consequences (vol. ii, p. 255) "is already more or less involved in the preference of this or that spring of action; for in proportion as the springs of action are self-conscious, they contemplate their own effects, and judgment upon them [*i. e.*, upon the effects] is included in our judgment on the disposition." However this may be, Doctor Martineau's method of defining conscience obviously escapes some of the traditional theoretical difficulties about that rather pretentious faculty. Conscience, in his view, does not set out with a mass of querulous "thou shalt

not" maxims, but only excludes relatively, declaring that *when* a higher incentive can be followed, then a lower must, by comparison, be rejected. But if the incentive A is rejected by comparison with B, when the two happen to conflict, the incentive B is rejected by comparison with its own higher incentive C, when the conflict is between these; and conscience thus has, in general, no absolute respect for the incentives, but only a relative interest in them. Exception is to be made in favor of the highest and lowest incentives in the known scale. Reverence, as the highest incentive, has for us an absolute moral value among motives, and acts that are necessary to express it have the highest possible warrant as against all opponents. On the other hand, Vindictiveness, being on the lowest grade among our motives—far lower, for instance, than mere natural Antipathy—has for us an absolute moral worthlessness, being rejected as against any other motive that may move us, and so rejected altogether. Even at the highest extreme of the scale, however, the mentioned absolute value of Reverence must be practically limited by the fact that our nature does not permit us always to be revering, but forces us to be often eating or fighting; and that, in fact, an effort to be continually reverential, and nothing else, would make us all vile prigs, and so would defeat its own aim. The complexity of our nature must thus be regarded in giving its due place to even our highest motive.

This theory of conscience is not only more liberal than many past theories, but it escapes that repeated objection of the opponents of intuitional moral theories, according to which the actual variations of moral judgment among men exclude the possibility of a conscience as an authoritative and uniform faculty. When men differ in moral judgment, they are, in fact, according to our author, judging different things. For acts are practically so complex, and incentives so numerous, that we seldom take all things into account. A wrong analysis of the facts may bring to conscience a false case, which this highest judge, who knows only the law, and accepts the evidence as he finds it, must then estimate incorrectly.

Such we understand to be Doctor Martineau's position. Its agreement with one whole growth of ethical tradition is perfectly manifest and admitted; but its statement is frequently original, and is accompanied by a very keen psychological analysis of human acts and motives.

That this psychological theory includes a belief in our moral freedom of will, and is also not disconnected from theological considerations, every reader of Doctor Martineau's previous publications will know without being told. Man is constantly in the presence, says Doctor Martineau, of Nature and God, *i. e.*, of the perceptible world, and of its eternal cause. To understand them, however, we do best to begin with our own souls, "to believe what the soul says of them," rather "than what they have to say about the soul." We thus obtain a "volitional theory of nature," and escape what Doctor Martineau especially abhors, "a naturalistic theory of volition." In relation to ethics, the two methods of philosophizing thus indicated are evidently identical respectively with Doctor Martineau's "psychological" method, and with his great opponent, the "non-psychological" method. The same tendency that leads him to look within for the moral distinctions, leads him to assume, as the complement and support of his ethical doctrine, a "volitional theory of nature." The human conscience demands that we should be in a world worthy of our reverence, and capable of understanding our graded scale of inner excellence. We must interpret the outer world by our knowledge of our own inner nature, and especially of our moral nature. But hence the need, Doctor Martineau

think*, of supplementing our ethics by a theism. In defining this theism, his moral doctrine pursues him to the end. God, in order to be such a God as our conscience reveres, cannot be simply immanent in the world, but must transcend it. What is realized in the world cannot be simply and absolutely necessary; there must be personal freedom still in God, something that might be and is not chosen, something more than any phenomenal world can manifest. For, after all, in Doctor Martineau's way of thinking, one of the most noteworthy characteristics of a person obviously is, that as person he is "not all there," and might be other than he is.

This is the outline of our author's doctrine. We admire the exposition, and think very highly, as the reader sees, of the historical influence that it may hope to have. As against the native and stubbornly unprogressive hedonism of some of the recent ethical theorists among the evolutionists, it has great logical advantages. It is free from their Philistinism, and yet it does not despise their facts. But still we cannot in the least disguise our fundamental disagreement with our author—a disagreement that expresses itself at once in our feeling that his lack of appreciation for modern German thought is a serious defect, even in so wealthy a thinker as he. There are some lessons to be learned from the historical outcome of the critical philosophy, and one of these lessons is, that no graded scale of incentives, intuitively and dogmatically established by any independent moral faculty, can be in the least adequate to the vast undertakings of ethical doctrine. Every such scale thus arbitrarily established is a mere personal whim on its very face, a caprice of the man who makes it. Conscience, defined as a private intuitive faculty, is once for all defined as a mere individual prejudice. The mere chance fact that two men or many men have or may have the same caprice, gives no logical universality to the moral perception. By the very definition, any logical universality is thus excluded from morals, and ethical questions become for such a system mere questions of taste. With another private scale of gradation, we should have another code; and this scale is, after all, an accidental system of pigeon-holes, useful in our own studies. To assure us that, meanwhile, it is of divine origin, and that God arranges incentives in just such an order of pigeon-holes, would be to give up the whole case, and make our ethics depend on our physics. Yet to confine ourselves to our own uniaids, and to say, "Such is the scale, because we find it given in our own souls," is to abandon universality for a confessedly private preference. How to look successfully for universality in ethics is another matter. Doctor Martineau's method will always be, we doubt not, of great historical importance, and, expounded as he here expounds it, with all the liveliness of controversial and psychological illustration and observation that distinguishes his thought, the result is a really great book. But our historical success in philosophical writing is, fortunately or unfortunately, not coincident with our success as mere logicians, or even as correct expounders of the fundamental difficulties of our chosen problems. Philosophy is valuable, as a social force, in quickening men to wrestle with life-problems for themselves; and incomplete theoretical success is often, from this social point of view, immensely important. Hence our admiration for this book, despite our objections.

Doctor Martineau's graded scale of springs of action has another very serious defect, besides the capricious and accidental basis upon which it all rests. Most of the steps, namely, by which it is reached, involve processes of false abstraction, which all the author's concrete interest in human nature cannot render other than obviously unfruitful. After all, who can decide whether, ab-

abstractly and in themselves, viewed wholly apart from their consequences, compassion is higher than gratitude, or fear morally higher than the tendency to spontaneous activity? Yet just such questions Doctor Martineau's conscience undertakes to answer for him. In fact, of course, he never really answers as abstract questions as he puts to himself. Suppressed and concrete considerations really decide. Yet his problems, as they are stated, are often merely amusing in their unreality. He is, for instance, studying the *Love of gain*, in its moral relations in the scale, and at the moment is comparing it with *Antipathy* or *Hatred*, considered as a primary passion or as an instinctive "movement of self-protection." He is courageous enough to assume an ideal case much in this way: Banish all consideration of consequences, concentrate attention on the one moment of action, and suppose a purely abstract and momentary man, "who has an intense horror of blood," and "receives an offer of an abattoir with a good butcher's business attached." Ought he, leaving out altogether for the moment his family and friends and position in life, and balancing only his primary passion of blood-hatred against his love of gain, to accept or not? Doctor Martineau's conscience is equal to this bit of abstraction, and decides that "to me it appears certain that we should look with contempt upon the suppression of even such aversion by hire." Much more, of course, if one's antipathy is felt toward a person, say a negro, it is obvious to Doctor Martineau that this primary "self-protecting" antipathy ought not to yield to a mere love of gain, however it may properly yield to compassion, or possibly to reverence, if these come into play. Californians who employ the hated Chinese for cheap labor's sake will please take notice of Doctor Martineau's conscience on this matter, as indicated by this remark.

Now, such abstraction as this is plainly impractical, not to say immoral. There is a true scientific abstraction, giving us unreal, or even physically impossible cases, which, with the abstraction itself, are still useful. Such an abstraction is that of the mathematical physicist, who studies the disposition of the heat conducted from a given source along a homogeneous bar, of a given shape and conductivity, immersed in a perfectly non-conducting medium, after the lapse of a given time from the beginning of the process. Such cases do not occur in nature; but they are valuable for the study of nature. But a false abstraction it would be to discuss in biology whether, in case a living animal consisted only of a great toe and a tail, it would find the toe more valuable than the tail. Yet just such an abstraction is Doctor Martineau's in the case mentioned. Even a butcher's life-work is an organic whole, and he is a member of a social order, with family, friends, and endless social duties. His love of gain is itself no quality capable of being understood by abstraction. Like the great toe or the tail of an animal, its nature is determined by the total of the organism, viz., here, of the character to which it belongs. And even so with the butcher's antipathy for blood. Hence the answer to Dr. Martineau's question is as indeterminate as would be the answer to the supposed biological question—as indeterminate and as worthless. A man is no more made of "springs of action," in Doctor Martineau's sense, than he is of quiddities or of second intentions.

Morality is, after all, what Aristotle made it, a science of gradations among Ends. The determination of the worth of Ends, and the consequent gradation of motives, cannot be made from any capricious and purely subjective examination of abstract "springs of action," but must find some other rational basis. If, for instance, the "greatest happiness of the greatest number"

is the highest End, then we shall have one possible gradation of the motives of men. But if the social order as such, the organization of civilized humanity, is our highest End, motives will get some other sort of judgment. Conscience, merely as something in us, is unauthoritative, and may be wicked. And so we find Doctor Martineau's ethical doctrine fundamentally defective, deeply as we admire the learning, the keen observation, and the hard-won personal wisdom with which the venerable teacher has adorned his work. We repeat, this book will live long and prosper; yet not because its fundamental doctrines are very novel, or logically satisfactory, but because a true man wrote it, and because his generous learning vivifies and warms its dust, and clothes the old body with precious and enduring garments.

TWO BOOKS ON THE VOICE.

The Child's Voice: Its Treatment with regard to After-Development. By Emil Behnke and Lennox Browne. Chicago: A. N. Marquis & Co. 1885.

Voice Use and Stimulants. By Lennox Browne. Chicago: A. N. Marquis & Co. 1885.

THE authors of these two brief treatises have adopted a plan of composition which has been used before, and which threatens to become a literary fashion that has, no doubt, its advantages, though it will add one more terror to the martyrdom of being a famous man. In order to determine some disputed points regarding the use of the voice at certain periods of life, and regarding the effects of alcohol and tobacco on the vocal organs, they sent circulars with questions to hundreds of well-known singing teachers and vocalists, in order to secure their opinions, as well as a brief account of their personal experiences. The names of all who responded to the call are printed in the appendix of each book, besides being in many cases quoted in the preceding pages.

The monograph on the *Child's Voice* is by far the more valuable of the two, and should be consulted by all parents who wish to cultivate the voices of their children, but do not know when to begin. The decision of this question should rarely be left to a vocal teacher, for the obvious reason that it is his advantage to begin as soon as possible. That singing lessons should be given to all young people who have the least gift for it, is a point which cannot be sufficiently recommended to parents. For, aside from the æsthetic pleasure to be derived from music, the exercise of the vocal organs often has a most remarkable effect on health. Dr. Martin, of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, who has had twenty years' experience in training an average of forty choir boys, states that he has never witnessed any pulmonary delicacy engendered, and that the health of many boys of consumptive disposition has improved under his training. Moreover, "it is very rare to see children trained in singing suffering from that very common defect in this country, of breathing through the mouth instead of through the nostrils"; and the full respiration required in singing also has a beneficial influence on digestion: singing engenders hunger, and "singing boys have often lusty appetites."

Although a few of the vocalists who replied to the questions sent them by our authors, state that voice-training may safely and advantageously begin at a very early age, by far the best and most copious evidence is to the opposite effect. Coupling this with their own experience, the authors "are bound to say we think the advantages of early training have been greatly overrated." There is, however, a great difference between the natural and the artistic use of the voice, which is well

expressed by Mme. Antoinette Sterling: "A girl may commence singing as early as possible. *Cultivation* of the voice should not commence till after the change to womanhood, ordinarily." Doctor Stainer says: "Little girls should not be taught to sing at all, as their tender voices are often permanently injured by premature efforts. A female voice should not go through any serious work or training until womanhood has been reached." And Mrs. Curwen gives her personal testimony thus: "When I was a child, singing was not taught in schools, . . . so I escaped the habit of shouting and straining so common now with children who go to school. And I never had singing lessons till nearly nineteen years of age." Provided the natural voice is only used, avoiding all strain and loudness, children cannot easily sing too soon and too much. For, as Mme. Sherrington says, "Early training sharpens the sense of hearing, and early use of the vocal cords stretches and strengthens them. Children should therefore from earliest childhood be taught little songs and dancing to acquire rhythm."

In the case of boys, complete rest at the period of puberty is much more important than in the case of girls, and the common neglect of such rest in the case of choir boys is probably the principal reason why "the number of boy choristers with fine voices who attain to eminence as singers in after life is very small." Mr. Turpin also touches upon a cause of the rarity of good voices: "Rough play in noisy streets, attended by loud shouting, I find to be, through forcing the tones of the lower register, the most frequent cause of failure in training boys' voices"; and the objection that interference with such sport would lessen the manliness and cheerfulness of boys, is met by the reply that complete suppression is not called for, but only moderation. Many interesting points regarding the differences between boys' and men's and girls' and women's voices are noticed, and a separate chapter considers the cause of the greater change of the male than the female voice, without coming to any satisfactory conclusions.

Dr. Lennox Browne's *Voice Use and Stimulants*, though comprising only 110 pages of text, contains a good deal of "padding," including a twenty-page disquisition on the question, "Was Mme. Malibran a Drunkard?" If she, one of the world's greatest vocalists, had been a drunkard, the Doctor's thesis that alcohol is injurious to vocalists would have received a serious blow; and he therefore determines this mooted and mysterious question to his satisfaction as well as he can. Mr. Sims Reeves, too, who had been named as a case refuting his theory, is quoted as having written in 1876 regarding stimulants, that "by long experience I find it better to do without them entirely. A glycerine lozenge is preferable; on very rare occasions a small quantity of claret and water may be necessary; but all alcoholic stimulants are detrimental." Of 380 vocalists who were questioned regarding their drinking habits, almost 70 per cent. admitted that they drank regularly or occasionally; but 75 per cent., on the other hand, refuse to take any stimulant either immediately before or during use of the voice, as an aid to its exercise. Spirits are used by only 8 per cent., "while a much larger number take the trouble to especially condemn" their use. Doctor Browne, however, is sufficiently liberal to admit that after work, at meal time, such a small amount of alcohol as is contained in a pint of claret is harmless, and may even be useful by its effects on digestion. The best way of taking wine for vocalists, however, would seem to be "in pills," as Theodore Hook puts it; for one vocalist writes that he has "found good dried raisins a nice stimulant to the voice, eaten fasting or shortly before singing"; and the author adds: "I learn also that Mme. Lind-Goldschmidt has

great faith in the value of raisins, and largely recommends them to her pupils."

Outline Study of Political Economy. By George M. Steele, LL.D. Chautauqua Press, 1885.

It is the aim of this book to make the science of Political Economy intelligible to "younger students and those who have not had long discipline in severer studies." While it may be possible for a master of the science to construct a "primer" that shall interest and instruct the young in economic subjects—such a work, for example, as Harriet Martineau's stories—it is preposterous for any one to attempt to explain to undisciplined minds principles that absolutely require severe discipline for their comprehension. You cannot explain Hydrodynamics to persons that have no acquaintance with algebra. A perusal of this work leads us to the opinion that the author himself is deficient in the discipline necessary to qualify him for the discussion of his subject, and the attempt of the blind to lead the blind cannot fail to end in disaster. The apparent simplicity that is attained is due to the omission of whatever is difficult. The "younger students" who may be compelled to study this treatise are to be pitied, for they can hardly escape forming the impression that they are learning something about Political Economy—an impression of which they will of course feel a reluctance to be disabused.

The qualifications of the author for the work that he has undertaken may be inferred from a few of his statements. He regards the quantity of money of which a community is possessed as of great consequence; so that if this quantity were reduced below a certain figure, commerce would be crippled, production checked, labor unemployed, and the purchasing power of the community diminished. Hence the issue of greenbacks during the war was a most beneficial measure, setting "in motion at once the commerce and industry which had been languishing." The policy of protection he considers a wholesome one. The objection that a protective duty is of the nature of a tax on other industries seems to him "to be specious and fallacious." This conclusion does not appear to have been reached by any process of ratiocination, but to have been adopted upon the authority of Horace Greeley. With incredible simplicity the author calls our attention to the fact that the duty on steel rails was increased at the petition of the consumers, who knew that this was the true way to secure lower prices. Why the manufacturers acquiesced in this increase, when they must have known its pernicious character, we are not informed. Even in matters of fact, where ordinary care would prevent serious error, we find that Mr. Steele is not to be trusted. Thus, to take one example only, we are told that every national bank must deliver to the Treasury bonds "equal in value to two-thirds of the capital," and that the banks are required to keep on hand for the redemption of their notes a certain proportion of lawful money; twenty-five per cent. in sixteen cities, fifteen per cent. elsewhere.

We have reserved the choicest illustration of our author's merits for the last; and, indeed, were it not for this, we should hardly have felt justified in calling our readers' attention to his book at all. In his account of "Lombard Street" Mr. Bagehot makes the following observations:

"In the last century a favorite subject of literary ingenuity was 'conjectural history,' as it was then called. Upon grounds of probability, a fictitious sketch was made of the possible origin of things existing. If this kind of speculation were now applied to banking, the natural and first idea would be that large systems of deposit banking grew up in the early world, just as they

grow up now in any large English colony. . . . Conjectural history would be inclined to say that all banking began thus; but such history is rarely of any value. The basis of it is false. It assumes that what works most easily when established is that which it would be most easy to establish, and that what seems simple when familiar would be most easily appreciated by the mind though unfamiliar. But exactly the contrary is true. Many things which seem simple and which work well when firmly established are very hard to establish among new people, and not very easy to explain to them. Deposit banking is of this sort."

We have not space to quote Mr. Bagehot's classical account of the origin of deposit banking. Suffice it to say that he shows that this kind of banking is an institution peculiar to the English people, and that it arose quite incidentally from the practice of issuing notes by bankers. A system of note issues, he observes, is historically the only introduction to a large system of deposit banking. In fact, until some time in the present century banks paid very little attention to their deposits, and it may be doubted whether there was a bank in existence fifty years since that had been formed with any thought of this branch of business. "Hypothetical history, which explains the past by what is simplest and commonest in the present, is in banking, as in most things, quite untrue."

It seems incredible that, with this detailed and deliberate warning from the pen of the most distinguished writer upon the subject that this generation has seen, any person should be found so presumptuous as to offer his own ignorant conjectures in the guise of actual history. Nevertheless, Mr. Steele writes as follows:

"The beginning of the modern system was probably something in this way: In communities where there was a considerable variety of industry, and there were consequently many exchanges, there would necessarily be greater or smaller accumulations of money in the hands of individuals. It would be found inconvenient, hazardous, or expensive to keep these in one's own possession. A strong-box, perpetual watching, and manifold precautions might secure safety. But it would naturally occur to practical business men that one strongly protected place, under the care of a competent person who should devote himself to the charge of the treasures of his employers, would be at least less expensive than each individual's custody of his own valuables; and that it might be vastly cheaper, as well as more effective, for the whole community of business men to combine, and assign the guardianship to one man, than for each to exercise it on his own account. Hence would result a building centrally located, with strong vaults and other safeguards and securities, where each person having surplus funds would deposit them for safe keeping," etc., etc.

It is safe to say that no bank was ever formed in any such way. A safe-deposit company is not a bank, and this is not even a correct account of the formation of a safe-deposit company. We trust that this is not a sample of the teaching usually dispensed to the audiences at Chautauqua. Certainly "younger students and those who have not had long discipline in severer studies" may be conscientiously advised to waste no time in listening to such instruction.

Matrimony by Advertisement, and Other Real Adventures of a Journalist. By Charles G. Payne. London: Vizetelly & Co.

This little volume of reprinted articles is very clever newspaper work, and will furnish an hour of entertaining and often genuinely humorous reading. At the bidding of different editors Mr. Payne has succeeded in taking his readers through a variety of strange and startling adventures, but whether or not he went through them himself previously is not always certain. The first article, "Matrimony by Advertisement," tells how the author explored the mysterious alode of the editor of the flourishing London *Matrimonial Journal*, his impressions of the va-

rious photographs of eligible and other aspirants to wedded bliss which he saw there, and his subsequent interviews with several of the celibate ladies. He simulated the garb and manner of the gouty and desolate old widower, of the ardent court-monger, of the hard-up swell in search of a partner with a purse, and of a number of other uxorious pilgrims; and he comes to the conclusion—though the statement will be received with deserved incredulity—that a man desirous of marrying through the agency of the matrimonial papers, can generally get what he wants with large choice. Though convinced that the women who advertise personally are for the most part of a coarse disposition, Mr. Payne, with apparent seriousness, declares that the system of obtaining husbands for really modest and lovable girls by the activity of parents and guardians is one that very largely prevails. He ventures the opinion also that a companionable and courageous man may without much difficulty find a well-to-do wife through one of these advertisements, by giving a first place to affection and a second place to money.

The best article, however, and probably the one that has served the best end, is "A Spell in a Madhouse as an Amateur Maniac," an exciting description of the interior of a private lunatic asylum. Mr. Payne has no difficulty in showing that the present English lunacy laws, in their medico-legal aspect, are woefully lax. Two doctors, neither of whom had ever seen the supposed patient before, were easily induced to certify him for an asylum, after visiting him separately, neither staying more than four minutes. As Mr. Payne puts it, they were lured into the thing—put upon their dignity by the deunt expressed as to their power of diagnosis, and readily imposed upon by a last will ostensibly in the handwriting of the imaginary maniac, but in reality concocted by a young lady, and in regard to which neither of the doctors sought any proof of the handwriting. Very useful criticisms upon the lunacy laws and procedure are embodied in this sketch, which contains graphic and amusing descriptions of the every-day life of the asylum in which the author found a temporary home.

As an amateur cabby, Mr. Payne's chief adventure was to leave at the circular road, Regent's Park, a hapless fare who had asked to be driven to Bedford Park, but the driver could not for the life of him remember the way to that outlandish West London suburb, and feared to ask his way lest he might be detected as a non-licensed driver, in which case the real driver of the cab would have been fined and disgraced. For this act, however, the journalistic Jehu atoned by giving a gratuitous drive in Hyde Park to a poor invalid lady. Referring to the many accidents to cab horses, the author suggests the formation of a veterinary ambulance association for the purpose of instructing cabmen in the preliminary treatment of accidents.

The "Robber's Va-te-Mecum" contains full and very humorously written descriptions of the arts by the practice of which the thief, in his many capacities, is able to prey successfully upon the more honest and more sleepy sections of the community. The reader is let into the secrets of artistic robbery on the street and on the race-course, and is presented with a detailed essay upon the most approved methods of modern housebreaking. With doubtful wisdom, although certain entertainment, this chapter contains illustrations of "burgling tools." A reference to these cuts will in some cases show the reader how to guard against the wiles of the professor of the jimmy, but it will perhaps be of greater service to him should he contemplate following the profession of the late Mr. Sikes and of the pious Mr. Charles Peace. Among the drawings are those of some of the favorite implements by the use of

which the last-named gentleman rose to eminence.

"Twenty Years' Penal Servitude" and "A Talk with a Birmingham Thief" show a remarkable aptitude for discovering and describing the lives, habits, and slang of the criminal and convict classes, and bringing out their best side. A number of ingenious and graphic expressions, such as gonophs, mollhooks, tecks, mugs, bangoes, suides, and coshes; the cadger's drag, the blugeter; and dipping, wiring, hoisting, snowdropping, screwing and sticking, and tying up a Jay, will doubtless enter at once into the vocabulary of Mr. Payne's readers, and Juggins may become as familiar to them as a household word. This versatile journalist says in a prefatory note that his "principal incentives have been the mandates of editors desirous of serving the public," and adds that "the desire to study various phases of life as an aid to the writing of works of fiction has been subsidiary." Mr. Payne's readers, however, will probably come to the conclusion that he stands in no need of aid to write excellent fiction.

The Hazen Court-martial: The responsibility for the disaster to the Lady Franklin Bay Polar expedition definitely established, with proposed reforms in the law and practice of court-martial. By T. J. Mackey. 8vo, pp. 364. D. Van Nostrand. 1885.

It is a matter of history that, after the wreck of the *Proteus* relief expedition and the return of the United States steamer *Yantic* to St. Johns, N. F., General Hazen of the Army Signal Office urged the Secretary to despatch immediately one of the vessels then ready for sea at that port to the rescue of Greely; that the Secretary of War, after consulting with the Secretary of the Navy and several Arctic travellers, decided not to do so; that after the disasters of the following winter had been revealed by the return of the naval expedition under Schley, General Hazen, deeming that he had been unjustly reflected upon in the report of the Secretary of War, and that he had information which would demonstrate this injustice, addressed a letter to the Secretary with the supposed proofs enclosed; that this letter was returned to him by the Secretary as transcending official propriety; that the verbal reply of General Hazen to a question on the matter from a friend, who was also a newspaper reporter, was more or less accurately reproduced the next day in a Washington newspaper; that at the instance of the Secretary of War a court-martial was ordered, before which it was charged and by which it was decided that, in this letter and conversation, General Hazen had been guilty of unwarranted and captious criticism of his superior officer, and was accordingly sentenced to be censured in orders by the President of the United States as reviewing authority. The question as to the accuracy and weight of General Hazen's defence of himself to the Secretary (the chief matter of interest to the public in the whole proceedings), was not considered by the court, whose whole duty resolved itself into a decision as to the military etiquette of the manner of the defence, and the discussion by the General in public of the Secretary's refusal to consider it.

Mr. Mackey, General Hazen's counsel at the time, now publishes the record of the court-martial and its consequences, with an appendix containing the evidence submitted to the Secretary but not to the court, with an introduction of some sixty pages in which the whole subject is considered. This may fairly be taken as General Hazen's defence of himself against public criticism on the main issue, and only in a minor sense elected against the verdict of the court, which considered special circumstances arising out of

that issue. In fact, the ordinary reader, divested of interest in technicalities and acquainted with the restrictions imposed by military discipline, can hardly suppose that the verdict of the court should have been other than what it was. As in the book on the rescue by Schley and Soley the naval view of the *Proteus* disaster was very clearly and impartially presented, so we have from Mr. Mackey in the present volume the case as seen from the standpoint of the head of the Signal Office. Counsel, being unrestricted by military discipline, has, however, brought out very clearly certain matters, essential to the understanding of the whole, which etiquette forbade should appear in a volume prepared by naval officers. If his evidence remain uncontroverted, it would seem undeniable that an unfortunate friction existed between the Secretary and the head of the Signal Office; that there was at least a chance that a second expedition in 1883, as suggested by General Hazen, might have rescued or succored Greely, and that prompt action might have got it off in time, and, consequently, that the Secretary's decision not to attempt it is to be regretted, though at worst only an error of judgment. The conduct of Garlington, as presented in the testimony of two of his companions, appears in a less favorable light than before, and the censure of Commander Wildes by the Secretary of the Navy would seem to have been even more fully justified than has been generally supposed. Before the assignment of responsibility for the final tragedy can be impartially made, however, the public will probably wish to hear from the late Secretary of War, who, under this combined attack with argument and evidence, can hardly continue to keep silent.

Two Years in the Jungle. By W. T. Hornaday. 8vo, pp. xxii, 512. Maps and illustrations. Clas. Scribner's Sons. 1885.

THE author of this work is well known to the habitués of American museums of natural history by the specimens of artistic taxidermy which he has contributed to their collections. He is now chief taxidermist to the National Museum at Washington. Previous to his engagement there he had studied his profession in Ward's well-known establishment in Rochester, and the travel and experiences recounted in these pages were undertaken for the purpose of obtaining the skins and skeletons of rare animals for Mr. Ward. The record is rather of action than of observation, of pursuit and capture rather than of study, of sturdily delights of the energetic hunter rather than the rapture of a biologist in a strange and novel fauna. The writer makes no pretensions to literary art, but writes in an easy, straightforward manner, which, if it might have benefited by some revision, at least savors of entire sincerity. The uncivilized people with whom he came in contact are regarded from the point of view of the employer, companion, or guest, rather than as ethnological specimens; and in these features the book forms a marked and interesting contrast to most of those which will find a place on the same shelf. For the ordinary reader it lacks condensation; though not tedious it is too long. The commercial naturalist who may follow in Mr. Hornaday's footsteps, will probably find much that will be useful and important to him in the very details which a more practised writer would have omitted.

The animals which were the object of the journey were chiefly the larger mammals—deer, antelope, elephant, wildcats, tigers, monkeys (especially the anthropoid apes); the various crocodiles; and the larger fishes. The search for these carried Mr. Hornaday to the banks of the Jumna and Ganges, the Nilgiri Hills, and Indian forests; to Ceylon, the Malay peninsula, and Borneo.

The most important parts of the book are those relating to gavia shooting on the Jumna, to the long and finally successful chase for wild elephants, and to orang-hunting in Borneo. The latter detained Mr. Hornaday some time among the Dyaks, for whom he expresses almost unqualified admiration. To the biologist the observations on the habits of the larger game will convey much of interest and permanent value, as will the exact and careful measurements which the author has tabulated. The ethnologist will find less, but still some not unimportant, contributions to his stock of information; the sportsman and collector will profit more than either by a perusal of the work. There are two good maps, numerous rather coarse illustrations, of which those representing fishes are much the best, and a satisfactory index. An appendix contains various notes useful to collectors, and a table showing the destruction of human life and domestic animals annually caused by wild beasts and serpents in India.

The author seems to have enjoyed unusually good health in his jungle wanderings, though not entirely exempt from fever. His good fortune is largely to be attributed to his temperate living and suitable dress. It need hardly be added that the objects of his journey were secured—in fact, he seems to have attained a very unusual measure of success.

The Two Hundredth Birthday of Bishop Berkeley. A Discourse given at Yale College on the 12th of March, 1885. By Noah Porter. Charles Scribner's Sons.

CONSIDERING how contemptuously Bishop Berkeley regarded all material things, the material aspect of President Porter's monograph has an undisguisedly satirical suggestiveness. A more beautiful bit of book-making one does not often see. The thick hand-made paper is very tempting to the eye, and might distract the reader were not the letter-press in the best manner of Messrs. De Vinne & Co. It is a pity that there should be an erratum, and strange that President Porter should have made such a mistake. It is also a pity that all the parts of a conversation on p. 11 should be included in one set of quotation marks, as if Hartley Coleridge had done all the talking.

Turning from the material form to the spiritual contents of the book, we find in them an agreeable presentation of the facts of Berkeley's life and the principles of his philosophy. Prof. Moses Coit Tyler's monograph, in the lately published 'History of the American Episcopal Church,' is fuller in regard to his American residence, and the accompanying monograph on his relations to Yale College is fuller in regard to these. As for the philosophic positions of Berkeley, the essays of Mill and Huxley will be useful reading in connection with this discourse. President Porter devotes a note in his appendix to the former. Mill's admiration for Berkeley was very great, but it was not directed to that which was most admirable in him for President Porter. This was not his subjective idealism, but its theistic implications. But the revival of Berkeley's fame, which has of late been quite remarkable, has certainly not been in virtue of his speculative Theism. It is in virtue of this, however, that President Porter finds him an excellent stalking horse, from behind which he sends many a hissing shot into the philosophers and scientists who are not to his mind. Indeed, he is evidently irritated not a little by the praises which Berkeley has elicited from the scientific school, and he is at pains to show that his disagreement with them is much more than his agreement.

It was not necessary to such a discourse as this that the writer should engage in any labor

of original investigation. President Porter has avowedly drawn his material from the most obvious sources, viz.: Professor Fraser's 'Life and Letters'; the same author's sketch in Knight's 'Philosophical Classics'; the 'Selections from Berkeley for the use of Students in Universities,' also edited by Professor Fraser, of which a new edition was recently noticed in these columns; and Professor Krauth's annotated edition of the 'Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge.' The story of Berkeley's life and the discussion of his system are intermingled in a pleasant manner, and in proportions suited to the conditions of a discourse publicly delivered. The relation of Berkeley to Locke and Hume and Kant is elaborated in the appendix (the opinion of Kant being remarkably contemptuous in comparison with the retreat upon him that has been generally sounded), and also the criticism upon J. S. Mill. There is further an elaborate note upon the Berkeley fellowships at Yale, showing that their significance consists in their being the first fellowships for graduate students provided in any American college.

Those who have not heretofore informed themselves concerning Berkeley's personal history will be astonished to find that the three works on which his philosophical fame principally rests were written from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-eighth year of his age. Another interesting fact is that Miss Van Hemrigh, Swift's Vanessa, gave Berkeley half her fortune on the strength of an hour's acquaintance, coming hard upon her disgust with Swift's marriage to Stella. Two of Berkeley's Newport company, Harrison and Smybert, have monuments in Boston of their own making, for the former was the architect of King's Chapel and the latter of the Old State-house. Whatever may be thought of Berkeley's philosophy, his personal character was certainly most lovable, and his religious tolerance remarkable for his generation. President Porter's quotations from his letters, in which he speaks of his little daughter and the son whom he had lost, make up the page that will be read over oftener than any other in his handsome book.

Thoughts on Science, Theology, and Ethics. By John Wilson, M.A., Trinity College, Dublin. London: Trübner. 1885.

THIS is a convenient compendium, in 200 small and openly printed pages, of the current Positivistic opinions, with surprisingly little sophistication or individual color. One would think Mr. Wilson must be a new convert to Positivism, for he writes with a good deal of vigor, and a vigorous thinker could hardly if he tried produce a book so commonplace. It will have a real value for the professed student of philosophy as a compend of the current commonplaces of Positivistic thought for the year 1884. It will give a young person a good introduction to Positivism; and it will be seized upon with avidity by the idealists, who will delight in making mincemeat of it. It consists of two parts, the first about science, the second about ethics. The first chapter, entitled "What is Science?" shows that the author does not know enough to distinguish science itself from a system of philosophy supposed to be in harmony with the spirit of science. He quotes with approval the remark of Doctor Magee, present Bishop of Peterborough, that "science abhors finality in belief"; if so, it does very unwisely to continue making observations, for these have the strongest tendency to bringing questions to a settlement. In chapter second the author asks "What is the Use of Science?" and answers that it is to satisfy the craving of the mind for a theory. That is the function of a philosophy. Chapter third treats of the methods of science:

"If a proposition stands the tests of both induction and deduction, we have the best warrant possible for believing in its truth; that is to say, for the truth of a general proposition we have the best verification when all the particular facts known to us are in accordance with it, and when experience verifies all the particular propositions logically deducible from it."

According to this, induction tests a proposition by old experience, and deduction by new experience. This is the most original idea in the book.

The ethics is substantially that of Spencer:

"The scientific sanction [of morality] rests on the nature of things. In man has been evolved in some degree a sympathetic nature, by which the pain and injury of others becomes self-pain and self-injury. This sympathetic nature is the subjective sanction. Secondly, living in society, a condition of life which to a sympathetic nature becomes a necessity, he is continually surrounded by the influence of his fellows. Whenever his conduct is painful or injurious to these, he finds it resented. Whenever it is beneficial, he finds it encouraged. This constant, ever-present influence of the many upon the individual constitutes the objective sanction."

The Haunted Adjutant, and Other Stories. By Edmund Quincy. Edited by his Son, Edmund Quincy. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1885.

WE have already noticed the first volume of this series of reprints from the works of an admirable writer and man. The story which gives a title to the present volume is the only one having a plot, or belonging in the category of our popular short-measure fiction. It is thoroughly entertaining and very skillfully worked up, and had it been placed at the beginning it would have whetted the reader's appetite more than does "An Octogenary," which precedes it. Some of the tales are true, like "Two Nights in San Domingo," to which we can affix the date 1843, since it appeared in the *Liberty Bell* of that year; or like "Dinah Rollins," "Phoebe Mallory," and, presumably, "Lewis Herbert: an Incident of New England Slavery." Five out of the seven deal with the Revolutionary epoch, or that immediately succeeding, which took a singular hold on Mr. Quincy's imagination, particularly with reference to the siege of Boston and the sufferings of the exiled Tories. He delighted to reconstruct the social aspect of his native city—the houses, furniture, books, manners, amusements, costumes, tone—of which he must have had close traditions in his own circle, though, as is hinted on p. 309, he got "a clearer notion of the way in which people lived in Boston eighty years since" from such African house-servants as survived the war and Massachusetts slavery than from more dignified sources. There is naturally a sameness and a certain amount of even verbal repetition in the *mise-en-scène* of the tales here brought together; and it would have been more just to Mr. Quincy if the date and original medium of publication of each had been noted in the table of contents.

As for our author's peculiar pleasantry, so easily converted into satire fatal to the politico-clerical humbug and hypocrisy of the time in which he wrote, one cannot weary of it. Nor is it uninteresting to observe how his humor was controlled by his profound moral convictions, so that, for example, as a total abstainer he apologizes between the lines for making a merry picture of our ancestors at the wine-table, necessary as this touch was to a complete realization of them. The total impression that the book makes is that Mr. Quincy was, both by intellectual affinity and by direct descent, a gentleman of the old school; and this is fully borne out by the capital likeness, in beliotype, which serves as a frontispiece. To commune with one in a book, as the species is getting rarer, is a privilege which the public ought to appreciate, even if Mr. Quincy's

English style had not independent attractions for those who regard such matters.

The Light of Asia and the Light of the World.

By S. H. Kellogg, D.D., Professor in the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa. Macmillan & Co. 1885.

THIS is a Christian missionary's "apology" for the integrity of the Christian Gospels against the suggestions of poets and radicals who would bring in another gospel. Dr. Kellogg confesses that he writes as a partisan, and is not unbiassed. He is zealous to prove not so much the truth of his Christian belief as the falseness and absurdity of all other beliefs. He is an instance, theologically, of that class of men who shut one eye when viewing an object, that their whole power of vision may be exercised without hindrance, through the other. In fact, he can see nothing good or true except it be "true to him." His mode of reasoning will not satisfy the candid thinker. It is this class of readers who will seek and not find in Dr. Kellogg's book any solution of the difficulties which beset their path. Others, who follow implicitly the leading of their own apostles, will perhaps be edited, and shut up the book with an inward sense of its complete sufficiency.

But, seriously, how is it that Dr. Kellogg and those who rank themselves on his side cannot see the difference between the imperfection of a belief and its falseness? If Buddha denied the existence of God, it was not the Christian's God he had an eye to, but the anthropomorphic, passionate, lustful God of the heathen world, or, if this phrase will not do, of the purely idolatrous world. Every one knows that Buddha denounced idolatry; was he right or wrong in so doing? He did not flatly deny the existence of Devas and Devis, but he said, as we say, that they were not worthy of worship. If he had not a true knowledge of God, he at least would not worship false gods. Is there no virtue, no good in this? Dr. Kellogg cannot see it.

Again, about the "soul." The orthodox side say that Buddha denied the existence of soul. But we should do well to inquire what Buddha meant by *attā*, or soul. It is defined to be "either a material form, or the aggregate of sensation, perception, reason, and consciousness." There is the *attā* named the eye, the *attā* named the ear, etc. Buddha denied the eternal existence of any such quiddity as this. Was he wrong? Will Dr. Kellogg even venture to define his idea of "the soul"? In the *Indian Evangelical Review* for April, 1885, there is an excellent article on the "Tripartite Nature of Man"; in this same number there is also an equally excellent article by Dr. Kellogg on "The Antagonisms between Hinduism and Christianity." We assume, therefore, that Dr. Kellogg has read the first-named article. Does he accept its statements? Does he believe that the soul, except it be reunited with the spirit, may perish like the souls of beasts? If so, how can he find fault with the Eastern teacher, who was feeling for light, and denied the necessary eternity of the part of man called "the soul"? Buddha knew nothing of the life-giving spirit, but he did not deny its existence. He was waiting to be taught; he was standing at the door till it opened; he was doubtless in the dark, but his face was turned to catch the first stream of the dawn.

In Sunny Lands: Out-door Life in Nassau and Cuba. By William Drysdale. With illustrations of places and people. Harper's Franklin Square Library.

AMERICANS are so much more in the habit of going to Europe than to the West Indies that

every one of us who visits the latter is apt to feel as if he were an original discoverer. If he communicates to the world, as he generally does, the results of his investigations in the strange lands he has visited, he writes much as if he believed that no one had ever been there before. The Southern Cross, the coconut, the milk in the coconut, the plantations with their strange new products of sugar, of coffee, and of cocoa, all are described with a minuteness and a prodigality of epithet which show how oblivious the writer is of the fact that most of his information is accessible elsewhere. Mr. Drysdale is no exception to this rule. He tells us much that we seem to have read before; but then he tells it in a somewhat new way, which gives an air of novelty to his book. He is, as he somewhere mentions, a newspaper man, and he writes newspaper English. His style is radically different from that of Kingsley, Gallenga, or any of the more recent writers about the tropics. "The way," he says, speaking of his appetite on board ship, "we used to work in six meals a day was a caution." Many things have been said of the Gulf Stream, but surely never before that "in winter there is not heat enough in it to melt a cake of ice, and in summer it's about as warm as boarding-house coffee." This light method of treatment occasionally gives an air of frivolity and even vulgarity to Mr. Drysdale's book, which does injustice to its underlying seriousness. It really contains not only a great many illustrations (which seem to be from old plates), but also a great deal of information of one kind and another of value to any one who thinks of going to Nassau or Cuba.

College Latin Course in English. By William Cleaver Wilkinson. Chautauqua Press. 1885. MR. WILKINSON'S "After School Series" is, we

suppose, brought to a conclusion with the 'College Latin Course,' a work fully deserving the high commendation which we have bestowed upon the earlier volumes. The selections here given are from Livy, Tacitus, Plautus, and Terence, Lucretius, Horace, Juvenal, Cicero (as men of letters), Pliny, and Quintilian. The treatment is animated and intelligent, the chief defect being a certain intolerance of spirit which makes it impossible for the author to appreciate fully what is most characteristic in the classical spirit: Christianity does not need to depreciate its rivals. There are several portraits, but for the most part too small and inartistic to convey a vivid conception of personality. The plan of ancient Rome makes the walls and gates of the republican period far too prominent as accompaniments of the Pantheon and the Colosseum. The course of the Via Sacra is no doubt uncertain and disputed, but who would think of having it end at the Porta Carmentalis?

Menschen- und Völkernamen. Etymologische Streifzüge auf dem Gebiete der Eigennamen. Von Rudolf Kleinpaul. Leipzig: Carl Reissner; New York: B. Westermann & Co. 1885. 420 pp.

This work purports to give the history of names—national, family, and Christian. The common or famous names which the author discusses are grouped in divisions and subdivisions without number. Thus the first chapter, on "Human Names," is divided into three divisions, of which "Children's Names" is the third. This, again, is divided into two subdivisions, and the first subdivision into four sub-subdivisions, the fourth sub-subdivision being redivided into five sub-sub-subdivisions. After wandering through this kind of a table of contents, one is not surprised

to find the author's third chapter beginning: "Omnes eodem cogimur. Jedes Volk und jede Klasse des Volkes muss sich dazu verstehen (n + b)² statt x zu sagen." When one examines any particular subdivision he finds it to consist only of a list of names, diversified, but hardly enlivened, by heterogeneous allusions to persons and places, historical and imaginary.

We can say no more of this work beyond brief mention of the tables, the like of which, says Herr Kleinpaul, have never, so far as he knows, been attempted. One of them arranges common given names by countries, each column being supposed to contain the names most usual with a particular people. Thus under England, we find, properly enough, William (e. g., William the Conqueror), Alfred (Alfred the Great), Richard (of which Dicken is given as an abbreviation, and whose most famous illustration is "Cœur de Lyon.") But when we come to "Bayard," and find Bayard Taylor mentioned as an Englishman (there are subdivisions for Americans and Scotch), any doubt we may have felt as to the justice of our author's claim to originality is nearly gone; and when, further down, we find "Stanley," "from Stanley, the African explorer, e. g., 'Stanley Huntley,' the chief of the Sioux," there is not left even a shred of it.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Addresses and Historical Papers before the Centennial Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Virginia, May 29-31, 1885. Thomas Whittaker. Fenn, G. M. The Dark House: A Knot Unravelled. Chicago: A. N. Marquis & Co. 25 cents. *Littell's Living Age*, Vol. 166. July-September, 1885. Boston: E. Littell & Co. Rational Communism: The Present and Future Republic of North America. The Social Science Publishing Company. \$1.50. St. Nicholas Songs. With Illustrations. The Century Company. \$3.50. Smart, H. Two Kisses. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. 25 cents. Warden, Florence. A Vagrant Wife: A Novel. D. Appleton & Co. 25 Cents.

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